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The Nation.

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TORIAL

AN IFFY VICTORY ON AWACS

The Senate's vote in favor of the sale of the Awacs to the Saudis was absolutely sound and correct . . .

IF the Russians are coming.

IF the Russians are coming via the Persian Gulf.

IF these gold-plated monsters of surveillance can actually warn us against anything and have any forces to control.

IF there is any reason to trust the Saudis' competence and good faith.

IF this addition to U.S. "forward strategy" will increase the stability of the Middle East.

IF the Awacs' presence will not set off a big new round of arms escalation in the area.

IF the shaky government in Riyadh—the "2,000 cousins," in Senator Claiborne Pell's sharp phrase—can stay in place.

IF our serious allies, the ones in Europe, can be convinced that this venture is not a dicey gambit devoid of strategic purpose.

IF everyone can conveniently forget what this sort of arms splurge did to Iran.

IF, as the Pentagon hopes, its "expectations" and "anticipations" that it will be "invited" to any future Saudi-based war are realized.

IF Boeing's financial security is equivalent to the national security.

IF this was the only way to assure to the Presidency (the office, not the incumbent) the ability to make foreign policy.

IF the ambiguous eight-point Saudi peace proposal is really a plan for peace and a recognition of Israel's right to exist.

Absent these conditions, what does the United States get from Ronald Reagan's Awacs agreement?

Sound and fury.

THE FEMINIST PAPERS
Ellen Willis
Jean Bethke Elshtain

FRONT ROW SEAT AT WORLD WAR III
Michael T. Klare

DRAWING THE LINE AT THE W.S.J.
Aryeh Neier

MODERATING ARIK SHARON
Lesley Hazleton

REFLECTIONS ON SADAT
Michael Manley

NEO-CON HOMOPHOBIA

SOME JEWS & *THE* GAYS

GORE VIDAL

A few years ago on a trip to Paris, I read an intriguing review in *Le Monde* of a book called *Comme un Frère, Comme un Amant*, a study of "Male Homosexuality in the American Novel and Theatre from Herman Melville to James Baldwin," the work of one Georges-Michel Sarotte, a Sorbonne graduate and a visiting professor at the University of Massachusetts. I read the book, found it interesting; met the author, found him interesting. He told me that he was looking forward to the publication of his book in the United States by Anchor Press/Doubleday. What sort of response did I think he would have? I was touched by so much innocent good faith. There will be no reaction, I said, because no one outside of the so-called gay press will review your book. He was shocked. Wasn't the book serious? scholarly? with an extensive bibliography? I agreed that it was all those things; unfortunately, scholarly studies having to do with fags do not get reviewed in the United States (this was before the breakthrough of Yale's John Boswell, whose ferociously learned *Christianity, Social Tolerance and Homosexuality* obliged even the "homophobic" *New York Times* to review it intelligently). If Sarotte had written about the agony and wonder of being female and/or Jewish and/or divorced, he would have been extensively reviewed. Even a study of black literature might have gotten attention (Sarotte is beige), although blacks are currently something of a nonsubject in these last days of empire.

I don't think that Professor Sarotte believed me. I have not seen him since. I also have never seen a review of his book or of Roger Austen's *Playing the Game* (a remarkably detailed account of American writing on homosexuality) or

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LETTERS.

LERNOUX'S LATIN AMERICA

New York City

Penny Lernoux's Latin America is a despairing place ["Latin America: A Political Guide to Thirty-Three Nations," *The Nation*, Aug. 22-29], and one recognizable primarily to those who want the region to be one of dictators and body counts and bankruptcies and corruption and systems that do not work, and who care not to look any further to see if their stereotypes fit the reality. As an article, Lernoux's "Latin America" is meant neither to illuminate nor to educate.

Many of the country analyses are unhelpful and misleading. Take Brazil. Say what you will about its succession of military governments, they have nevertheless led the country on a most extraordinary redemocratization effort. If successful, it will rival the examples of Spain and Portugal.

Other countries in Latin America have attempted redemocratization, but their efforts are skimmed over by Lernoux. Peru's experience is analyzed solely in terms of a retreaded Fernando Belaúnde, who brings to the task of governing his 1960 dreams of a marginal highway and a few crumbs to entice the foreign investor. There is no probe of his programs to see if they contain elements that might help repair Peru's shattered economy and society. In the case of Ecuador, the slant is different, but equally negative. The new president, Osvaldo Hurtado, is written off as Washington's man in Quito rather than admired for the political acumen he displayed in managing the difficult transition after the death of Jaime Roldós.

It is interesting that Lernoux cannot even give the time of day to Venezuela's well-tested democracy. In her view, the two-party system has gotten the country in a mess because, of all things, the government changes hands every five years! Mexico's political stability is not even noted. Instead, the country is criticized for spending its oil money on "flashy capital goods imports." The job-creation goals of President López Portillo are cooly ignored and instead the government is accused (wrongly) of having made no dent in unemployment.

Any article written today about Latin America should point out that governments there are primarily concerned with development issues. How to get from here to there is the overriding policy objective, and an amazing amount of innovative programs and sophisticated management are being brought to bear on the goal. . . .

Latin American governments get scant credit for solid management. Easier to impugn the results, which admittedly are often flawed, than to really figure out what is happening. And also easier to blame the U.S. "spooks" and State Department types for nefariously manipulating Latin America. Latin America has gone beyond that simple view of Uncle Sam. U.S. observers ought to, too. Lernoux's "Latin America" demeans a publication that is supposed to galvanize thinking people into thinking more cogently. The article should have included information on Latin America that your readers may not have known. That would have been a starting point for a piece that could have raised *Nation* readers' knowledge of the region.

Rosemary H. Werrett
Editor, Business Latin America

New York City

Penny Lernoux writes: "Like the Puerto Ricans, the people of France's three Caribbean *départements* (Martinique, Guadeloupe and mainland Guyane) have been bought off by welfare payments and pressure to adapt to the culture of their colonizers."

Lernoux's attitude and choice of words are disturbing inasmuch as they suggest that the peoples of these countries, Puerto Rico included, have somehow sold their souls to the devil. Her snide tone suggests that these peoples are too spineless to stand up for themselves; it suggests that something is amiss, either politically or morally, whenever a poor Third World country associates itself with the affluent West. She seems to say that any such association begins and ends with economic exploitation and cultural extinction. She also seems to say that the choice of association is dictated solely by the principal (here the United States or France), and that the associate (be it Puerto Rico, Martinique, Guadeloupe or Guyane) is free to choose from an infinite array of economic possibilities, if only the people involved had some guts. Well, of course, this is nonsense.

The peoples of Puerto Rico, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guyane have not been "bought off." Nor are they abandoning their respective cultures for the glories of being French or American. Rather, they have made—and continue to make—a series of difficult and complicated choices, which are shaped and influenced by the principals involved, but which the peoples of these territories nonetheless hope will improve their lives. They understand only too well that their possibilities are not endless; they need only look as far as Cuba and Haiti to see how grim their lives could be and to appreciate the ironies and the potential bankruptcy of so-called sovereignty. If Lernoux is upset that Puerto Rico, Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guyane are poor, let her say so. But she needn't malign them for trying to improve their economic circumstances the best way they know how.

Félix López

Bayamon, Puerto Rico

Penny Lernoux's thumbnail sketch of Puerto Rico leaves much unexplained and contains information that is misleading, including one important error.

Lernoux does not explain that one of the main reasons Puerto Rico imports so much food from the United States is that food produced on the island usually costs considerably more. Puerto Rico is mostly covered by mountains, which makes farming expensive. And prime (flat) agricultural land is not lying fallow: it is being used for urban development for white- and blue-collar workers.

Lernoux states that "the antistatehood Popular Democratic Party narrowly missed unseating Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló." This is misleading for two reasons. First, the Popular Democratic Party (P.D.P.) is as anti-independence as it is antistatehood. . . . Second, Lernoux's statement implies that the antistatehood movement is gaining momentum. Although I wish this were true, there is no doubt that the statehood movement in Puerto Rico is still very strong and can win the next election if it dumps Romero.

Last, Lernoux writes that "Puerto Ricans rejected statehood in a 1980 plebiscite." This is an error. There was an election in 1980, but it was no plebiscite. The election results are used by many as an indication of the people's feelings about the island's status. However, the results are not a sound measurement, since many people voted against Governor Romero because he had lost credibility and many independence advocates "lent" their votes to the P.D.P. in order to "stop statehood."

Robert F. Van Trieste

LERNOUX REPLIES

Bogota, Colombia

Much as I would prefer it otherwise, Latin America is a bleak place these days, with military regimes in eleven countries. The reality *is* one of "dictators and body counts and bankruptcies and corruption," and I can only report the facts. But contrary to Rosemary Werrett's contention, I also see hope, particularly in the emerging independent labor movements and the region's progressive Catholic Church.

Take Brazil, as Werrett suggests. The political liberalization in progress there is due not to any change of heart on the generals' part but to combined labor-religious pressures that have forced the reluctant regime to restore some civil liberties and schedule legislative and state elections. Gen. Golbery do Couto e Silva, the chief architect of the political opening, has publicly admitted as much.

If I "skimmed over" Peru's "redemocratization," that is because it is the same old story of repression and corruption. I haven't "written off" Ecuador's President Osvaldo Hurtado, but so far I have seen nothing to suggest that he will achieve even moderate reforms. Granted that the very existence of a

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EDITORIALS.

Mr. Dooley's Back

"I see be th' pa-apers," said Mr. Dooley, "that th' Atthorney Ginral belaves that th' Supreme Coort should follow th' illiction returns."

"Does he now," said Mr. Hennessey. "I hope he gave ye credit for th' line."

"He did that, Hennessey. I wudden't have thought it iv a lawyer with thray names—and one iv them French to boot—but he stole it fair an' square."

"And what was the gloorious occasion f'r this evocation of the grand ould moniker iv Dooley?"

"The ginral was addressin' the troops iv the Federal Legal Council at their annual meetin' on Loopholes in th' Federal Practice Code er some sich exahlted occasion. He did it oonder that vinerable legal tradition that says, 'If ye don't have the facts, quote the law, and if ye don't have the law, quote Mr. Dooley.' Ye see, Hennessey, what was exercisin' Ginral French Smith was that the Supreme Coort iv th' United States, and the lesser coorts appended, ain't been readin' th' pa-apers. They somehow didn't get the news about 'the groundswell of conservatism evidenced by the 1980 election,' as Ginral French Smith put it. Now I know what ye're goin' to say: Federal judges ain't your ordinary guzzlers at th' public trough. They collect their boodle f'r life, which is more thin ye can say for Social Insecurity thase days. They sit on their binches in their black robes and contemplate the infernal mysteries iv the Law, while politicians come an' go. But this Mr. French Smith, he wants them to pay attention to the Moral Sodality and other distinguished bodies of Americans. He wants thim to trim their sails, and stop all this 'joodicial activism.' The shoort of it is, Hennessey, that the coorts have bin creatin' too many rights."

EAST TENNESSEE STATE UNIVERSITY
Tennessee
NOV 1 0 1981

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"What does this French Smith—a name I w'd have thought British meself—want to do about it?"

"Why, I guess he wants the coorts to take back some o' thim rights—put 'em back in the dusty law tomes on their shelves. I admit Ginral French Smith weren't atall clear about it, but that seemed the way he was laynin'.

"I guess he mayns what th' boys in th' hod carriers union would call a slowdown. They got to stop readin' the Constitootion so hard, and inventin' rights where there ain't any written down in black 'n white. I mean—an' I'm just paraphrasin' the ginral—where in the supreme law iv the land do ye find mention o' buses? Why th' Founderin' Fathers niver heard o' buses to carry little black children to school. They had carriages in thim days."

"If they put th' black kids in carriages, would that make it all right?"

"A good idea, Hennessey, but I doubt it. Th' trouble is that all these years the Supreme Coort has been rulin' on all kinds of things that don't exist—corporations, political parties, abortion, contraception, an' the like. Ye see, Hennessey, these judges have bin inventin' worrk fer themselves—somethin' no self-respectin' hack on Alderman Gilhooley's payroll would be caught dead doin'. What we need on thim binches is a bunch o' Chicago's foinest timeservers. Make bein' a judge a no-show job—or at least set a quota of only one noo right per judge per year. We need judges who heed the glorious vox popular as it's whispered into their ears by the local boss. Iv course, this may have to wait until Ronald Reegun appoints his own boys to the high bench. Thin they can get out the word, like they're doin' at the E.P.A., the F.T.C., O'SHAY and all them agencies—econymize on rights. Don't give 'em out to the undesairvin' poor; give 'em only to those that can invest thim wisely, the corporations and the wealthy folk. If common paypul stop thinkin' they can get equal joostice oonder the law, they'll stop botherin' the coorts. That's the way to stop all this joodicial activism, Hennessey."

Cuba Questions

Whenever Washington doesn't get its way in Latin America, Fidel Castro's Cuba is a convenient whipping boy, but the tenor of the Reagan Administration's recent charges against Cuba suggests that something more is up than the usual Havana-bashing. Could it be a Bay of Pigs reprise?

The verbal escalation began on September 23 when National Security Adviser Richard Allen announced the establishment of Radio Martí, to beam programs originating in the United States to Cuba. Then, on October 12, Vice President George Bush said that Nicaragua "still has the chance to free itself from the chains that the 5,000 advisers sent by Castro have been slowly placing around it." The next day, he added that Washington "will not stand by passively while foreign powers intervene brutally in the domestic affairs of our peoples."

On October 19, Rowland Evans and Robert Novak reported in their syndicated column that 500 to 600 Cuban troops had landed in Nicaragua, possibly for the purpose of "setting up a revolutionary Marxist government in eastern El Salvador." These troops were presumably in addition to the 1,500 Cuban military advisers that Secretary of State Alexander Haig had charged last August were in Nicaragua.

Commenting on the Evans and Novak report, a State Department spokesman said, "We continue to regard with the greatest seriousness the large-scale supplying of arms and advisers to Nicaragua." Haig was even more specific: "We are considering a wide range of political, economic and security actions, including confrontation with the source, Cuba."

The Cuban government categorically denies that it has sent arms or military advisers to Nicaragua or El Salvador, and an editorial in *Granma*, the official organ of the Cuban Communist Party, quotes a government declaration challenging Haig to "state without vacillation, subterfuge or beating around the bush whether or not he is able to uphold his claim that Cuba landed between 500 and 600 troops in Nicaragua and whether or not the United States has evidence of that assertion. Let him state on what day, at what time and in what planes those troops landed. Since he claims to know, let him present his evidence."

Granma's charges come at a time when—conveniently?—distribution of the newspaper in the United States has been effectively halted by the Treasury Department under the Trading With the Enemy Act of 1917 and the Cuban Assets Control Act of 1963.

Will the Administration produce its evidence of Cuban intervention in Nicaragua? Will this evidence turn out to be of the same dubious provenance as that in the State Department's white paper on El Salvador? (The latter was thoroughly discredited by the press, and a promised sequel has yet to appear.) Is our Secretary of State a liar, as Castro charges? Is the most recent wave of charges of Cuban intervention part of a disinformation campaign designed to prepare the American people for a confrontation in the Caribbean that would provide a diversion from the recent spate of bad economic news on the home front?

The Curiel Affair

In May 1978, in Paris, Henri Curiel was shot down outside his home. His name was not, even in France, a household word. But there has hardly been a colonial revolution whose veterans did not mourn him, and hardly a struggle for independence in this century in which he had not participated. His friend Uri Avnery, the radical Israeli publisher and politician, called him "a one-man clearinghouse and contractor for revolutionary causes." His assassins were evidently of the same opinion. In a press release after the murder, the ultrarightist group DELTA announced that "Curiel, a traitor to France which adopted him, has definitively ended his activities." They added, for good measure, that Curiel had been "a K.G.B. agent and militant of the Arab cause."

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In the France of Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, such *attentats* were not uncommon. The killing of Jean de Broglie, an Independent Republican deputy and former minister who had negotiated with the Algerian F.L.N.; the slaying of Pierre Goldman, a leftist militant and author who had served time in prison for terrorist acts (of which he was later found innocent); the attack on the synagogue at Rue Copernic, the various murky attempts on the lives of Basque exiles—all these hinted at the existence of a right-wing para-state, often acting in collusion with police extremists and somehow immune from investigation. The tentacles, to use that tried and tested term, seemed to extend beyond France. Whenever right-wing polemicists set pen to paper in service of the pseudoscience of counterterrorism, they seemed to draw upon the same sources as the French extremists. In *The Spike*, Curiel was depicted as a Soviet agent. Arnaud de Borchgrave, one of the authors of that novel, also mounted a private smear campaign against Curiel. He wrote to Georges Suffert, editor of *Le Point*, saying that Curiel's subversive connections were an open secret in what he called "the intelligence community." Robert Moss, co-author of *The Spike*, alleged that French intelligence considered Curiel to be an agent working for an unnamed foreign power. Claire Sterling, in her highly diverting book *The Terror Network*, parroted these accusations and referred darkly to the same untraceable "intelligence" sources.

The election of François Mitterrand to the presidency of France and the accession of Socialists to all the major ministries of the Republic have given us an unexpected insight into the veracity of such charges and the people who made them. The new government has handed Curiel's widow a file that the outgoing government had refused to release. It includes a judgment by a special commission that had examined the Interior Ministry's charges against Curiel, including accusations of terrorism, and found them to be groundless. The Paris courts, too, have been hearing evidence on the charges against Curiel. Recently, Mme. Curiel brought a libel suit against Roland Gaucher, author of *The Curiel Network, or Humanitarian Subversion*. She won, and she is now suing Sterling.

Sterling may be more fortunate, because her French lawyers succeeded in removing certain passages from the French translation of her book. While awaiting the outcome of this latest case, we might recall what sort of man Curiel really was. His memory has been irreparably tarnished by the "scholars" of the New Right, and something should go on the record in a country like America where libel laws are weaker.

Henri Curiel was born in Egypt in 1914. He was a Jew, and as a young man became a Communist. He, along with other radical Egyptians, founded a small branch of the Communist Party in Cairo and another in the Sudan. When he was imprisoned by King Farouk, his Jewishness was not the least of the charges against him. Deported from Egypt in 1951, he made his way to France and threw himself into political activity. He was arrested in 1960 for helping the Algerian nationalist underground and resumed his work as soon as he was released. For the next decade, his home in France was the first port of call for political refugees from the Third World. South Africans, Chileans, Palestinians and many others have good cause to remember him. At his death, his bereaved friends made a list of organizations and governments that might have wanted him dead. The total came to thirty organizations in fifteen countries. One of his most risky activities was promoting an exchange of views between Israelis and Palestinians, in pursuit of which he sponsored several meetings between leftists on both sides. In a radio interview he once said:

> I am accused by the Arabs of being a Zionist agent because I am Jewish, by the French of being a K.G.B. agent and by the left of being a C.I.A. agent. I am simply an agent of no one.

As everybody knows, there exists in France a faction of the extreme right that has never forgiven the "loss" of Algeria. These people tend to be the same ones who have never forgiven Dreyfus. In the person of Curiel, Jewish leftist and friend of Arabs and Africans, they had the perfect embodiment of their gloomy fantasies. And so he was killed. But not before he had been set up and stripped of his humanity by a smear campaign.

Here we see the mentality and the methodology of the counterterrorist authors captured in a single example. First, you take the whole experience of Third World revolution and reduce it to "terrorism." Then, you blacken its leaders, by anonymous innuendo, as cat's-paws of a foreign secret police. Then you read of their murder at the hands of some irrelevant organization (which of course has nothing to do with you). Then, emboldened, you publish the accusations under your own name and make a bit of spare cash. The issue then becomes not "Who killed Henri Curiel?" but "Why did nobody kill him before?"

It appears that even though he is dead, Henri Curiel is as much of a nuisance to the right as he was when he lived. We wait eagerly for the response of de Borchgrave, Moss and Sterling. Or perhaps the French courts and the French civil service were all in on the plot as well?

CHRISTOPHER HITCHENS

Christopher Hitchens, longtime foreign editor of the New Statesman, *frequent* Nation *contributor and a visiting editor last year, rejoins us as a contributing editor.*

ANNALS OF THE A.W.C.

Beginning Friday, November 13, from 8 P.M. to 10 P.M., radio station WBAI in New York City (99.5 FM) will present a series of programs devoted to the proceedings at the American Writers Congress. A number of shows are planned, ranging from discussions and montages of the event as a whole to broadcasts of specific panels. If you were unable to attend the Congress, or if you missed certain panels, the series will enable you to catch up. The second program will air on November 16, from 8:30 P.M. to 10 P.M.

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ARTICLES.

THE FEMINIST PAPERS

Betty Friedan's 'Second Stage': A Step Backward

The two articles that follow are the first in a series on the future of the women's movement, using Betty Friedan's new book, The Second Stage *(Summit Books), as a departure point. Articles by Bella Abzug, Mim Kelber, Frances Lear and Linda Gordon and Marla Erlien will appear in forthcoming issues.* —*The Editors*

ELLEN WILLIS

I agree with Betty Friedan that feminism is at a critical point in its history. The momentum of the movement has drastically slowed, and if it is to survive, let alone progress, it must regroup and begin a new offensive. The success of that offensive will depend on our ability to combat not only the direct political challenge of the right but also the wave of cultural conservatism now engulfing people on every part of the political spectrum. Unfortunately, Friedan's book is less a prescription for the feminist dilemma than a symptom of it.

I have to say first that basing a discussion of the future of feminism on *The Second Stage* is like basing a discussion of the right to a fair trial on the question "When did you stop beating your wife?" Friedan's version of feminist history bears no resemblance to my experience of it. Her basic thesis is that feminism's "first stage" concentrated solely on equal participation in the public world of business and politics and ignored women's need for a fulfilling personal life. In the "second stage," therefore, we must turn our attention to the family. Friedan's organization, the National Organization for Women, did start with this limited view of feminism. But radical feminists explicitly rejected the liberal integrationist model. We emphasized the connection between women's exclusion from full participation in the public world and their subordination in the so-called private sphere of familial and sexual relations. We insisted on the importance of such issues as women's sexual freedom and satisfaction, equality and mutuality in personal relations with men, and equal sharing of housework and child care.

It is absurd, then, for Friedan to call the family the "new frontier" of feminism. The family is and always has been a central concern of feminism. Friedan is really saying that feminists should embrace the current trend toward mindless sentimentality about the family and abandon our abrasive habit of analyzing and criticizing it. She sees no need to discuss how the conventional family oppresses women; she suggests that we simply extend the concept of family to cover whatever nontraditional arrangements we have in mind. The reality, however, is that before we can make alternative forms of "family" practical for large numbers of women, we must first establish our freedom to reject existing family relations—to separate sex from procreation and both from marriage, to be single, childless or lesbian—without suffering legal or social penalties. And it is exactly this set of demands that Friedan devotes much of her book to condemning as love-denying, individualistic, hedonistic, offensive to right-thinking Americans and injurious to respectable feminist goals like passage of the Equal Rights Amendment.

Clearly, Friedan's idea of how to preserve feminism in the face of an accelerating backlash is to adopt a strategy of retrenchment and appeasement. We are not to challenge the right's "pro-family" propaganda by forcefully asserting women's moral right to freedom (including sexual freedom) and equality. Rather we should disavow any basic disagreement with traditional values and justify feminist reforms on pragmatic grounds, stressing their benefit to the family: child care is necessary because in an inflationary economy most families need two incomes; abortion is necessary to safeguard women's health for future childbearing, and so on. I think such a strategy is doomed to failure. In fact, it has already failed. For several years now the movement's liberal mainstream has doggedly pursued a policy of conciliation and pragmatism; the dismal results for the E.R.A. and abortion rights are plain to see.

It is a bad mistake to imagine that the women's movement can concede the right's moral assumptions and retain any credibility for its political agenda. Feminism is not just an issue or a group of issues; it is the cutting edge of a revolution in cultural and moral values. In place of a traditional patriarchal morality based on sexual repression, submission to authority and self-abnegation, the feminist moral vision proposes to extend to women—and to the entire realm of familial and sexual life—the democratic principles of self-determination, equality and the right to the pursuit of happiness. In place of a coercive, hierarchical family structure, feminists envision forms of community shared by free and equal participants.

It is hardly surprising that this profoundly radical project has provoked a right-wing reaction. Perhaps less obvious, however, is the pervasive influence of that reaction on the thinking of people who do not identify politically with the right, including liberals, leftists and even feminists themselves. A deteriorating economy, international upheaval, the social tensions that inevitably erupt whenever old rules break down, and the frightening uncertainties of change itself have made people fearful. And with fear comes nostalgia for the past and vulnerability to the right's guilt-mongering moralism. As a result, the right has come to con-

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trol the terms of the debate on social issues (just as it does on economic issues), so that even its political opponents feel obliged to pay tribute to its definitions of moral rectitude.

But feminists can never win on these terms. The objective result of every feminist reform, from legal abortion to the E.R.A. to child-care programs, is to undermine traditional family values and increase women's personal and sexual freedom. Feminists who adopt their enemies' moral framework (or simply ignore it and talk about "practical problems") convey a self-negating double message. When right-to-lifers define abortion as murder, and their opponents respond with euphemisms about "choice," "reproductive rights" and the need for medical services—or with defensive assurances that "we think abortion is terrible, but . . . "—the public may be forgiven for concluding that feminists are unwilling to assert women's moral right to autonomy and sexual love, and therefore their moral right to kill an unwanted fetus. And if we are unwilling to defend our principles wholeheartedly, why should anyone else support us? The more feminists assume that they cannot afford to take a stand because the atmosphere is too conservative, the more that assumption becomes a self-fulfilling prophecy.

In short, the first task of a renewed feminist offensive is to reaffirm without evasion or apology the moral legitimacy of women's liberation. It is time to remind people about the human suffering that led women to rebel against traditional values in the first place; to remind women, in particular, that it is neither immoral nor self-indulgent nor narcissistic to resist oppression.

Another priority, in my view, is challenging cultural feminism, an ideology second only to liberal pragmatism in its stifling grip on feminist thought. The logic of feminism as a political movement leads to ending sexual role divisions and rejecting the idea of opposing masculine and feminine natures. Cultural feminists, on the other hand, redefine women's liberation as escape from the influence of corrupt "male" values and the reassertion of superior "female" values. Cultural feminist assumptions underlie the equation of feminism with lesbianism or with an alternative women's culture or simply with female bonding. Such assumptions have also become popular in the peace and ecology movements, where women are often seen as "natural" pacifists whose nurturing function gives them a special responsibility to save the world. They form the basis of the antipornography movement, with its neo-Victorian view of male and female sexuality.

While cultural feminism has always been one tendency in the women's movement, in recent years it has become increasingly prominent and more aggressive in attempting to establish itself as *the* feminist orthodoxy. It has been a drag on the movement in two ways. First, it provides no intellectual basis for a concrete antisexist politics. If anything, it does the opposite, channeling female energy into countercultural projects, fantasies of restoring an alleged golden age of matriarchy, or moral crusades against male vice. It also reinforces oppressive cultural stereotypes, especially the assumption that men have a monopoly on aggression and active genital sexuality (cultural feminists often equate the two), while women are nonviolent, nurturing and more interested in affection than in sex.

Since cultural feminists confuse loyalty to feminism with adherence to their conception of female values—which tends to coincide with traditional criteria of femininity—their logic has impelled them to fierce, moralistic attacks on women whose attitudes are deemed too aggressive, openly sexual or otherwise "male-identified." At a time when the right is putting increasing pressure on women to conform to traditionally feminine, sexually repressive norms, this parallel trend within the women's movement has deeply disturbing implications. It has already stirred enough concern among feminists to prompt a passionate debate on sexuality—the healthiest development in the movement in a long while.

Finally, since the antifeminist backlash is part of a larger assault on democratic gains in every area of political and economic life, the future of feminism depends in part on the future of the left in general. The future of the left, in turn, depends a great deal on whether feminists can influence its direction. The conventional wisdom on the left is that economics and international affairs are its central concerns, while questions of sexual politics are peripheral at best. There is also a strong strain of left cultural conservatism, based on arguments similar to Friedan's. Both positions ignore the crucial role of a repressive sexual politics in making people feel guilty about aspiring to freedom and happiness, and thus more inclined to bow to corporate and governmental authority. The same moral arguments used to bully people into accepting sexual inequality and repression—that we must stop being selfish, demanding, hedonistic and undisciplined—have been used quite successfully to win support for (or at least paralyze opposition to) conservative

DRAWINGS BY MONICA INCISA

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WRITERS CONGRESS RECORD

The Wreck of the Language

"When Mayor Ed Koch was booed by thousands of workers at New York City's Labor Day parade this year, he explained to the press, 'They're really cheering. It's like the Yankees: booing means cheering.' In this and in similarly absurd utterances somberly repeated by reporters, the Mayor was talking the language of media writers. How often do you see the press challenge that ridiculous metaphor 'balancing the budget'? In pursuit of this at best metaphysical goal, the President will be respectfully quoted as calling for sacrifice while quadrupling military spending, thus ballooning the Federal deficit (another figure of speech) beyond even the tolerance of the compulsive gamblers on Wall Street. 'Strategic' remains the favorite designation for any part of the world you plan to violate. And, according to American writers for the mass media, most terrorists are dark-skinned and can be found inside the Third World lounge of the United Nations.

"The wreck of our language implies the destruction of our work as writers and, more, it portends the destruction of our democracy, which depends on the people knowing what's what so they can think about it and judge for themselves what ought to happen next."

—June Jordan, novelist and poet,
American Writers Congress, October 9-12, 1981.

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economic and urban policies. Conversely, a strong and militant opposition to "pro-family" politics could spearhead a more general left resistance. It is in feminists' interests to make this argument as strongly as possible. Maybe this time (male) progressives will be desperate enough to listen. □

Mr. Right is Dead

JEAN BETHKE ELSHTAIN

Just in case you happened to miss it, Betty Friedan has written a book announcing that the women's movement has embarked on its "second stage." In the first stage, women, seeking "full participation, power and voice in the mainstream," were trapped by an "extreme version" of feminism, frequently trading in the old feminine mystique for a new feminist militancy. In the second stage, where we now find ourselves (with some occasional and unfortunate backsliding), women must join with men in "restructuring institutions and transforming the nature of power itself."

Friedan's insistence that feminism not be represented as in conflict with the abiding need for human intimacy and the commitment to the family is welcome. But on closer analysis, her second stage looks suspiciously like her first, and both are at odds with a genuinely democratic society. Indeed, this vision of feminism embraces, as means and end, forces that erode the possibility for a greater democratization of American life, forces that may, in fact, lead to a technocratic politics. Such a politics is incompatible with real democracy.

If the feminist movement is to be anything other than "one of capitalism's more advanced needs to rationalize," in the words of the French feminist writer Julia Kristeva, it must confront, not endorse, the prevailing modes of consciousness and the prevailing norms of political, economic and social organization. The movement must part company with Friedan and unite with those forces of social change and political renewal that are resisting the increasing power of unaccountable bureaucrats animated by a technocratic ethos.

The great challenge facing the women's movement, and American democracy, is how to prevent further erosion of the "space" within which democratic politics can operate. As more and more decisions about the environment, the quality of life and, most important, war and peace are removed from the arena of effective public debate, the women's movement must link its concerns with the very survival of democratic politics. From the beginning, Friedan's brand of feminism has embraced modern liberalism's urge to reduce substantive political questions to problems of

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strategy, problems amenable to technological solutions or bureaucratic manipulation beyond the reach of public control. (Hence she admonishes us to "get beyond ideology" and, accepting the extant hierarchies, to practice a new *style* of leadership that will magically transform private and governmental institutions from within.)

One implication of a feminist commitment to democratic politics would be a movement more reluctant than it has been in the past to challenge the peculiar statist faith shared by Friedan and many feminists. The modern state is a political order that monopolizes power, structures its activities and implements its policies through bureaucracies unaccountable to the public; that erodes patterns of ethnic, religious and regional ties and identities; that standardizes culture, ideas and ideals; that often finds it necessary or convenient to override civil liberties for reasons of state or "executive privilege," and that, from time to time, commits its subjects to wars they have had neither the opportunity to debate fully nor the right, in advance, to challenge openly.

Despite Reaganomics and the changing of the Washington Guard, Friedan still sees the state (and its "enlightened" corporate allies) as "Mr. Right." She continues to look to the state to intervene, to legislate, to adjudicate, to police and to punish in behalf of feminist aims.

My note of caution implies no withdrawal from a belief that feminists should use the state to protect their rights. Rather, it flows from the realization that excessive reliance on a state grown less and less accountable, hence potentially more and more repressive, weds feminism to the current terms of political power. Such a reliance on the state thoroughly implicates feminism in government's "solutions" to our present dilemma. The theory of "reindustrialization," for example, effectively allows infringements on freedom that may be deemed necessary to buttress our flagging capitalist culture. It invites an expansion of social areas subect to state coordination, coercion and control.

The acceptance of capitalism's long-range interests is another point on which the women's movement and Friedan must part company. Friedan believes that "capitalism surely has enough flexibility to retool itself to meet the new hierarchy of needs. . . . Moreover, feminists and other enlightened individuals will use the capitalist system to meet the needs of individual growth and family. . . ." For feminists to support a newly "rational" capitalism attuned to feminist "needs" is to abandon a vision of democracy and embrace an unholy, manipulative accommodation to corporate capitalism. Friedan says that a feminist-feminine "style" of leadership will transform the institutions of home, family and work from within, but it is too late for such romanticism to present itself to us in the guise of a pragmatic, progressive politics.

Instead, the women's movement needs to move toward a feminist perspective that would examine public and political realities with a reflective eye, and that would subject bureaucratic power, technological politics and statist arrogance to a radical critique. The terms for female participation in today's political economy are based on calculations of individual worth: the self-interested self as an ideal. For women, in the name of feminism, to choose such an ideal is to forsake their historical connections to the private space of household and family, the space where feminist values, imperatives and forms of social identity originated. Sara Ruddick, feminist educator and author, puts the question this way: Do women have cultures, traditions and imperatives that they should insist on bringing to the public world? If the answer is yes, we must ask how feminism can articulate a political consciousness that draws on traditional female values in a way that is neither reactionary nor wholly accommodationist. This is the task feminists must confront. It is no "second stage." It is an ongoing commitment to the project of political democracy, a relentless vigilance against manipulative, technocratic public policies and an affirmation of the dignity and uniqueness of each human being. □

ON NATO MANEUVERS

A Front-Row Seat At World War III

MICHAEL T. KLARE

On September 14, at a ceremony in Vaerloese, Denmark, inaugurating the 1981 North American Treaty Organization war maneuvers, Gen. Bernard W. Rogers told a group of visiting dignitaries that the annual Autumn Forge operation enhances allied readiness. It is "a shield behind which our peoples can live in peace," he said.

While General Rogers was speaking, I was several hundred kilometers to the south, watching the start of Autumn Forge from a hilltop overlooking the Fulda River Valley in eastern West Germany. Shortly after dawn, hundreds of tanks from the Orange (Warsaw Pact) army poured down the hill and stormed Blue (NATO) positions on the far side of the valley. To the north and to the south, other units of the Orange and Blue armies were engaged along a seventy-kilometer-wide front. Even though the two armies were using blanks instead of live ammunition, it was like having a front-row seat for a dress rehearsal of World War III.

For the next ten days, the Orange and Blue armies battled for control of this historic invasion route from Eastern Europe into the Rhine Valley. Massive tanks churned up the countryside in fierce struggles for key hilltops, road junctions and river crossings; A-10 attack planes swooped down on their targets like giant hawks, and 155-millimeter howitzers and Lance missile batteries bombarded the battlefield from concealed positions in the sprawling pine forests. Elsewhere in Europe, other units of the Orange and

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Blue forces engaged in complex air, sea and amphibious maneuvers. Overall, some 300,000 soldiers from thirteen countries participated in the biggest dry run for war ever conducted.

Each year, the NATO press office invites a group of American and European journalists to watch the Autumn Forge maneuvers from privileged vantage points. Most of the journalists are military affairs reporters from major newspapers, but I was granted permission to observe the exercises as a correspondent for *The Nation* in order to write about U.S. planning for a conflict in Europe. By watching U.S. troops train for World War III, I hoped to learn more about the implications of President Ronald Reagan's military modernization programs and the proposed European deployment of new theater nuclear weapons. I did learn a good deal, but I also came away with many forebodings about U.S. strategy in Europe.

Autumn Forge was divided into two phases. The first, Operation REFORGER (REturn of U.S. FORces to GERmany), involved the airlift of some 18,000 soldiers from their home bases in the United States to supply bases in West Germany. Once in Europe, these soldiers picked up their heavy equipment from caches that had been prepositioned in the area and proceeded to the "battlefield" along the West German border with East Germany. The purpose of this massive trooplift, according to Pentagon officials, "is to demonstrate America's capacity and resolve to reinforce NATO rapidly in a crisis." (My own REFORGER flight, on a C-5A Galaxy jumbo transport, took twenty hours from loading up at Ft. Campbell, Kentucky, to unloading in Frankfurt—not exactly rapid by today's standards, but a great improvement over the troopships of World War II.)

The second phase consisted of a series of twenty-eight land, air and sea combat exercises in Central Europe and the Mediterranean basin. These maneuvers, instituted in 1975 by then NATO commander Gen. Alexander Haig, are designed to enhance the readiness of NATO forces and to familiarize U.S.-based troops with European combat conditions. Although most of the exercises involved small units and only several thousand soldiers, three of them were on a scale that could be called lavish. Operation Certain Encounter, a ground and air exercise in east-central West Germany, employed 71,000 American, West German and British troops. Also on a grand scale were Operation Sharfe Klinge, a ground and air exercise in southern West Germany, and Operation Display Determination, a ground and sea exercise in the Mediterranean basin involving troops from Italy, Greece, Portugal, Turkey, Great Britain and the United States. These three maneuvers followed a common intelligence scenario that called for a sustained combat between the Orange and the Blue armies.

U.S. officers did not disclose any details of the intelligence scenario governing Autumn Forge, but the general outline was obvious: After a period of mounting tension and saber rattling by both sides, the Warsaw Pact nations stage a full-scale invasion of Western Europe, which is ultimately repelled by the combined NATO armies. While the Orange and the Blue forces were fighting it out in West Germany and the Mediterranean, the NATO command tested control and communications systems—including the targeting systems for nuclear weapons—that they would use in an actual war. These Command Post Exercises were designed to verify the capacity of a unified NATO headquarters to control and coordinate a number of individual combat units (divisions, brigades, squadrons, etc.) from several countries. Details of the tests were not made public, but one senior U.S. officer told me that "they come as close to replicating the conditions of World War III as is possible in peacetime."

Although the exercises were intended to be as authentic as possible, there was an air of unreality about Autumn Forge. In part, this was due to excessive secrecy—the nuclear-systems drills, for instance, were off-limits to the press. There was also the artificiality inherent in any peacetime exercise. In West Germany, tank columns were required to use existing roads and paths rather than cut across fields as they would in wartime, when no local farmers would be around to protest. All combat was suspended from Friday until Monday in order to clear the autobahns for the weekend traffic. The "battlefields" retained their pastoral look; on more than one occasion, I watched farmers harvesting their crops while Orange and Blue tanks fired blanks at each other from opposite ends of the field.

But far more significant was the unwillingness of U.S. officials to acknowledge the ambiguities and contradictions that riddle their planning for a real war in Europe. I had been aware of these ambiguities, but Autumn Forge threw several of them into bold relief. For example, none of the major ground exercises called for using nuclear weapons. In Operation Certain Encounter, the Blue forces—reinforced by troops arriving from the United States on the REFORGER airlift—defeated the invading Orange forces with conventional weapons. But how realistic is this scenario? Soviet military doctrine assumes that its invading forces would have an overwhelming superiority of more than five to one in tanks, artillery and manpower. In the exercise, however, the Orange forces had an initial advantage of only about two to one; and when reinforcements arrived from the United States, the Blues became the superior force. One doubts that the Soviet Union would mount an attack under such unfavorable odds. And if the exercise had assumed an attacking force of the size envisioned by Soviet doctrine, "there is no way," I was told, that the invaders could have

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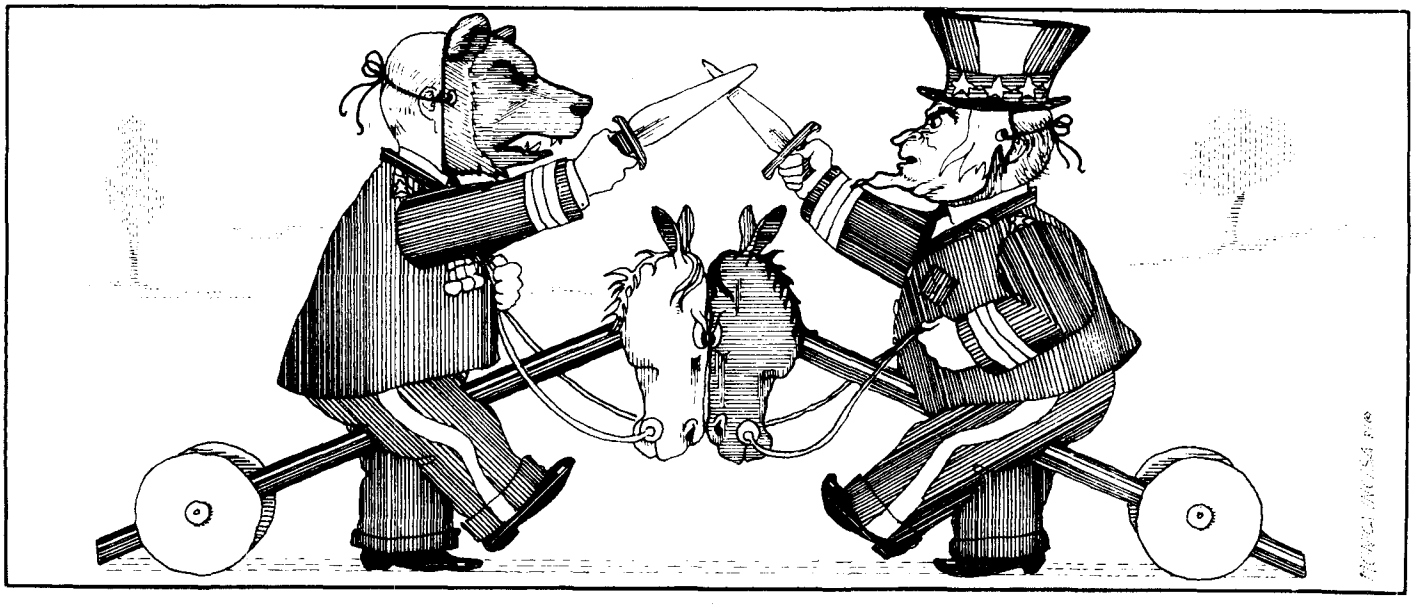
been stopped by conventional weapons alone. When conventional forces are overwhelmed, U.S. battle plans call for the use of tactical nuclear weapons (of which some 7,000 are stored in Europe) to destroy Soviet tank formations and to "seal" the West German border by creating giant craters and radioactive zones. Even though such measures were "not needed" to stop the Orange advance in the exercise, American forces still simulated preparations for nuclear strikes in line with standard operating procedures for the defense of Europe. As one U.S. officer put it, "We tested procedures for the application of theater nuclear weapons in a response role." Thus, while Operation Certain Encounter was intended to demonstrate NATO's capability to repel a Soviet assault with conventional weapons alone, my fears that an actual European conflict would in the end be fought with nuclear weapons were not laid to rest.

Another questionable feature of Autumn Forge was its reliance on the U.S. assumption that the principal threat American forces face in Europe is an all-out attack by Warsaw Pact armies. This assumption underlies President Reagan's proposed arms buildup and his decision to manufacture the neutron bomb, which kills mainly by radioactivity, rather than by explosive force, thus leaving structures intact. To defend against such an attack, NATO forces would obviously need very large standing armies and a full panoply of modern weapons, including the neutron bomb. But given the likelihood of nuclear escalation, and the unreliability of many Warsaw Pact armies (e.g., the Polish and the Czechoslovak), it seems highly unlikely that Soviet leaders would consider such a venture. (It is possible, of course, that a superpower conflict that broke out elsewhere—say, in the Middle East—could trigger a Soviet invasion of Europe, but such a conflict would almost certainly escalate into a full-scale thermonuclear exchange before any ground engagements could take place.) Certain Encounter thus seems to have little basis in reality. Nevertheless, the presumption of a Soviet assault prevails, and U.S. forces will continue to be equipped to fight a full-scale ground war in Europe. And, because the costs of maintaining such an army are rising, the United States will have to devote an ever increasing share of its national budget to defense.

A final observation: Questions have been raised about the motivation and the preparedness of U.S. forces in West Germany. There have been a number of reports in the press about drug abuse, alcoholism and disciplinary problems, and U.S. equipment and facilities are claimed to be obsolete and poorly maintained. During Autumn Forge, many of the reporters present queried U.S. officers repeatedly about the "readiness" of American troops. Without exception, the officers claimed that insufficient funding and anti-military attitudes in the wake of the Vietnam War were the causes of these problems, and that the military buildup proposed by Reagan would eventually restore the Army to full combat effectiveness. But while there is no doubt that U.S. facilities in West Germany are badly in need of repair—many barracks, for instance, date back to before the First World War—I was not convinced that lack of money is the root of the problem. I learned from young officers and G.I.s that it is boredom and a feeling of purposelessness, rather than inadequate facilities, that drives them to drugs or alcohol. "For months at a time," an Army captain told me, "these guys sit around with nothing to do except polish their rifles; and because they can't speak German and can't afford German prices, they get stoned or get drunk and lie around listening to rock music on their stereos." It seems to me that this boredom and aimlessness is caused by the strategic unreality I mentioned earlier. So long as U.S. soldiers are forced to train and prepare for an implausible war, they are going to feel bored and alienated, no matter how much their facilities are improved. This is not to say that American G.I.s do not deserve decent living conditions; rather, the Pentagon should reconsider the need to maintain such garrisons in the first place.

These are some of the questions about U.S. policies that arose in the course of my visit to the Autumn Forge "war zone." Most of the military men I talked to were aware of them, even if they did not always see their full implications.



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But one issue was not addressed at all: the growing opposition in Europe to nuclear weapons in general and to the new intermediate-range missiles in particular. Although some of my fellow journalists occasionally mentioned the peace slogans scrawled on walls, none of our military escorts were willing to discuss the resurgence of antinuclear sentiment in Europe [see Michael Lucas, "The E.N.D. of the Beginning," *The Nation*, October 10]. And while it is still too early to predict whether this sentiment will produce a change in NATO policy, there is no doubt that it has already had a political impact in several countries, particularly West Germany and the Netherlands. In the end, this hidden issue may bring about an honest reappraisal of the other issues raised by the Autumn Forge maneuvers. □

LATIN AMERICAN DOMINOES

Drawing the Line At *The W.S.J.*

ARYEH NEIER

"Thanks to a disturbingly effective left-wing propaganda campaign," an editorial in the October 19 *Wall Street Journal* informs us, "the Reagan Administration has been largely stalled in its efforts to gather public support for a U.S. counterattack against the Soviet-Cuban conquest of Central America." The editorial goes on to arraign, at considerable length, "propaganda lies," "brain-washed reporters and Congressmen" and "the group in this country that once helped break down U.S. resistance to the Soviet conquest of Southeast Asia," and to recite a litany of alleged Soviet-Cuban "conquests" in Central America. The message is familiar: subversives and their dupes (or "knaves and fools," in *The Journal*'s parlance) are once again at work undermining American resolve and assisting the onward march of global Communism.

Apparently, *The Journal* believes in fighting fire with fire, for the editorial purveys considerable propaganda of its own. Here are a few examples:

"*Little Costa Rica, once a model democracy, has been destabilized and intimidated by the Nicaraguan buildup and internal subversion.*"

Comment: Little Costa Rica is still a "model democracy." It has developed social welfare programs that match what Cuba has achieved while fostering an open society in which civil liberties are zealously protected. It is also a country in deep financial trouble, a victim of skyrocketing energy costs and depressed coffee prices. Although Costa Rica desperately needs economic aid, the Reagan Administration offered counterinsurgency training instead—an offer that most Costa Ricans greeted with scorn. (Last September, after U.S. representative to the United Nations Jeane Kirkpatrick visited San Jose, the grand old man of Costa Rican democracy, former President José Figueres, told me, "When she talks about us, she has not the faintest idea of what she is talking about.") Costa Rica is not being intimidated by Nicaragua, but many Costa Ricans are disturbed by the repressive policies of the Sandinist government. Even so, political leaders like Figueres, incumbent President Rodrigo Carazo and the leading contender to succeed him in next February's elections, Luis Alberto Monge, see reason to hope that Nicaragua will evolve into a democracy.

"*Can anyone still doubt that Nicaragua has been a victim of a Communist takeover?*"

Comment: The revolution that ousted the Somoza dynasty two years ago enjoyed extraordinary popular support—except among Somoza's favorites and members of the National Guard.

The Sandinists inherited a devastated and plundered country with a huge foreign debt. To rebuild it, they are badly in need of aid from other countries. The modest amount approved by the Carter Administration was blocked after Ronald Reagan took office. The Nicaraguans are receiving aid from such countries as Mexico, Venezuela, West Germany and Libya. The Soviet Union and Cuba send very little, and the Nicaraguan government has vowed that it will not become dependent on the Soviet Union, as the Cubans did.

Critics of the Sandinist regime, such as Alfonso Robelo, an opposition political leader, Pedro Joaquin Chamorro, the editor of *La Prensa*, and José Esteban Gonzalez, a human-rights lawyer, complain about the government's failure to schedule elections until 1985, its interference with freedom of the press and its violations of civil liberties. It does not detract from the force and validity of their complaints to point out that comparable outspokenness in rightist-dominated countries like El Salvador or Guatemala would almost certainly get the speaker assassinated. Indeed, Chamorro's father, his predecessor as editor of *La Prensa*, was murdered by Somoza's men in 1978 for just such an offense.

Nicaragua is not "the victim of a Communist takeover." It is the victim of several decades of oppression, some of which persists under the Sandinists. The surest way for the United States to strengthen the regime's repressive tendencies is to make its leaders feel threatened—as Secretary of State Alexander Haig did when he told a Congressional hearing, "The last chapter in the Nicaraguan story has not yet been written."

"*The territory of Honduras is being used with impunity to funnel arms from Nicaragua to the Communist guerrilla army in El Salvador.*"

Comment: The evidence to support this is slender, though almost every U.S. embassy in Central America will trot out the story about the captured refrigerator truck that was carrying M-1 rifles concealed under its roof in place of the insulation. More important, however, is the State Department's charge that the guerrillas in El Salvador (and now Guatemala) are dependent on supplies from Nicaragua—or

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Cuba, or the Soviet Union. They are not. It should be well known by now that guerrillas require fewer and lighter weapons than regular armies. Some of the weapons they use are stolen; others are captured from government troops. Whatever else they need can be easily obtained on the international black market, using money raised through kidnappings.

In August, I saw a display of weapons that the Guatemalan military had captured. Many were American-made. While their route to Guatemala has not been traced, it is likely that they were captured by the Vietnamese, who sold them for foreign currency to Libya, and that they then were shipped by sea or by air either directly to Guatemala or through Mexico, which shares a very long and very porous border with Guatemala. Crossing Honduras would be a difficult and risky way to bring arms into El Salvador or Guatemala. Some weapons have been transported via that route, but a large-scale traffic would make sense only to those who imagine that every revolution in Central America is attributable to Nicaraguan-Cuban-Soviet subversion.

"An active terrorism campaign is under way in Guatemala, drawing the usual counter-terror from the right with its predictable additional contributions to destabilization."

Comment: First, the "counter-terror from the right" is actually the work of the Guatemalan government, as a report by the Organization of American States Inter-American Commission on Human Rights recently documented. Second, "counter-terror" is the wrong word, since government-sponsored assassinations were taking place before most of the guerrilla groups presently operating in Guatemala came into existence; indeed, government terror helped spawn them. Third, if by terrorism *The Journal* means violence against noncombatants, that again is mainly committed by government forces.

"The techniques [used by peace groups opposing U.S. military intervention in El Salvador]—marches, demonstrations and blown-up photographs of maimed bodies (all of them naturally victims of the other side)—are the same ones propagandists have used for decades."

Comment: It is true that propagandists have used reports and photographs of atrocities for decades. Nonetheless, atrocities are taking place in El Salvador and in Guatemala, and the great majority of the victims have been killed by what *The Wall Street Journal* calls "the other side," that is, the armed forces of the governments of these countries. *The Journal*'s editorialist apparently believes that reports of atrocities and photographs of maimed bodies should be suppressed because they give rise to a sense of *déjà vu*.

"The American government is not taking a more forceful role in Central America in part because so many Americans have been convinced that this would be making war on the common man. But representatives of the common man are pleading for help in driving out what they know full well is a foreign-backed army that will enslave them if it wins."

Comment: *The Wall Street Journal*'s concern for the common man is touching, but its claim to speak for the common man in Central America is not persuasive. The governments in El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras and Nicaragua do not represent the common man because none of them were elected, save Guatemala's, which took power in a fraudulent election in 1978. Except in Honduras, where the press is fairly free and where the elections scheduled for November 29 will probably be reasonably honest, political discussion in the region is so constrained by repressive governments that it is impossible to know what the common man really thinks. *The Wall Street Journal* can be as jingoistic as it likes, but for it to say that it is speaking for the common man in Central America strains all credulity. □

THE RUSSIANS DUNNIT

The day after the killing of Anwar el-Sadat, *The Wall Street Journal* editorialized:

> Whichever of President Sadat's local enemies was immediately responsible, though, his death dramatically raises again the issue of possible Soviet complicity in world-wide terrorism. Someone asked to name three men in the world whose deaths would most advance the Soviet cause would be likely to list President Reagan, Pope John Paul II and President Sadat, all of whom were the objects of assassination attempts in the past year. While there is no direct evidence of Soviet involvement, least of all in the Reagan attempt, the coincidences strain credulity.
>
> At the very least, we are growing totally impatient with the claim from Western authorities that there is "no evidence" of Soviet involvement in terrorism. . . .

I confess that I feel inadequate before this specimen of high-octane editorial thinking. One would need a course in "Logic and Lapses Therefrom" in order to understand and articulate all that is amiss here. In the absence of that training, I have attempted to translate the editorial into plain English:

> We don't have the slightest idea who killed Sadat. We hope it was a left winger. Then we can blame it on the Russians. If the killers were right wingers, we will call them religious fanatics and destabilizing elements. We can blame that on the Russians too. We are desperately hard up for something in the way of international terrorism to stick on the Russians. We really hope this will be it.
>
> All of us of course also know the Russians were behind the shooting of President Reagan. National security considerations prevent us from revealing our sources, but we believe sophisticated mind-control experts made John Hinckley fall in love with an 18-year-old movie actress in the certain knowledge that this would lead to the destabilization of the world capitalist order. We wish the Pope were dead, and we wish a Russian had done that too.
>
> We haven't the slightest evidence of Russian complicity in any of these crimes, but we are growing impatient with those who remind us of this. If they keep it up, we will shoot them. And we will blame it on the Russians.

RICHARD CONNIFF

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A MAN FOR *THE TIMES*

The Moderating Of Arik Sharon

LESLEY HAZLETON

Unless you have read too much Leon Uris and imagine that all officers of the Israeli defense forces have curly blond hair and blue eyes, the Middle East might seem an unlikely place to search for fair-haired boys. Yet the American press has persisted in its quest for Middle Eastern heroes—partly because it is always easier to create and maintain the myth of the hero from a distance of several thousand miles, and partly because each temporary hero offers the hope that the Middle East problem may not be as intractable as common sense makes it appear.

Thus we had the glorification of Anwar el-Sadat—and the consequent confusion when he "suddenly" used dictatorial methods against his domestic opponents in September, and died because of it in October. The American press had concentrated only on Sadat the courageous statesman. I doubt if U.S. journalists deliberately ignored the fact that he was also a dictator; more likely, they were aware that the climate at home was not right to present his domestic face. Or perhaps they were so confused by Sadat's wavering between "democratization" and dictatorship that they chose to ignore it all for the simpler and more appealing image of Michelangelo's David. In fact, as many Egyptians in addition to the thousands now in jail could tell you, Rameses II would have been a more appropriate model.

Then, during last year's elections in Israel, we were treated to the image of opposition leader Shimon Peres as the hope of all righteous men and women. Given the lack of any clearly differentiated policy on Peres's part, this hope was apparently founded on the sole fact that he was not Menachem Begin.

The search for silver linings continued with the anointing of Palestine Liberation Organization leader Yasir Arafat as a moderate, despite his steadfast refusal to recognize Israel's existence. Arafat can be seen as a moderate only in comparison with spokesmen of the more irredentist wings of the Palestinian movement.

And now Amos Perlmutter, a professor of political science at American University, has, in an article that appeared in *The New York Times Magazine* of October 18, sought to make a moderate out of Israel's Ariel Sharon, as unlikely a figure of moderation as Arafat himself.

Sharon, Israel's new defense minister, is better known to Israelis (and to *au courant* Americans) as Arik. He is a publicist's problem. He is simply too outspoken to be made into a wise diplomat or a judicious statesman. Ask him about his military exploits or his political intentions and he will reply with brutal frankness. So the trick, of course, is not to ask—or else omit the pertinent facts from your story. That way, though Sharon, like Arafat, can never be exactly a golden-haired, blue-eyed boy, he can be relieved of the figurative placard around his neck that says "Beware: This man is dangerous."

Perlmutter does a beautiful job. "Well, Arik doesn't seem so bad after all," I could hear readers say as they closed the magazine. "After all, it says here he's a pragmatist. That has to be better than Begin."

Beginophobia has taken hold to such a degree among certain groups in the United States that it is difficult to acknowledge that not even Begin is always wrong. He did lead Israel into signing a peace treaty with Egypt. Not a comprehensive peace, true, but a damn sight better than none at all. And though Perlmutter failed to mention it, Begin signed the treaty over the forceful opposition of his current defense minister, Arik Sharon.

Between Sadat's visit to Jerusalem in 1977 and the Camp David accords the following year, Sharon repeatedly faced Israeli and foreign journalists with an impressive array of maps, lecturing in his clipped army-slang style about the importance of the Sinai mountain passes to Israel's security. It was impossible, he said, to give them back to Egypt. When Camp David succeeded despite his predictions, Sharon busied himself that winter in setting up a string of fake settlements—outposts, he called them—in the northern Sinai. He did this despite the objections of others in the Cabinet (at the time, he was both agriculture minister and in charge of West Bank settlements). For a while, it seemed that Israel had a runaway Cabinet minister. No one could control him, not even Begin. The Egyptians protested; the negotiations to translate the Camp David accords into a final peace treaty wavered precariously. Sharon almost managed to sabotage them.

Perlmutter skips gracefully over the key role Sharon played in the expansion of Israeli settlements during his three-year term as agriculture minister. He makes no mention of Gush Emunim, the extreme right-wing movement determined to establish an irrevocable Israeli presence and, if possible, an Israeli majority on the occupied West Bank of the Jordan River. And he neglects to mention that Sharon has supported Gush Emunim since its early days and was in effect its representative in the Cabinet after 1977, supervising the creation of numerous settlements in the Arab-populated heartland of the West Bank. One settlement, a small town in the mountains above the Jordan Valley, bears his name.

Nor do we hear much from Perlmutter of Sharon's methods, aside from one gory account of his giving the order to raze a hut sheltering presumed terrorists even as their blood was seeping through the walls. The ruthlessness with which, as agriculture minister, he hounded the Negev Bedouins off their tribal lands and into industrial reservations is not mentioned. Nor is his performance in the north-

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Lesley Hazleton is a British-Israeli journalist and author of, most recently, Where Mountains Roar: A Personal Report from the Sinai and Negev Desert *(Penguin).*

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ern Sinai in the years after the 1967 war when, in addition to "clearing" the Gaza Strip of terrorists, Sharon cleared it of Bedouins in order to make way for new Israeli settlements. The Israeli Army drove the Bedouins off their land and in one instance sent them on a forced march in midwinter—a march during which not only livestock died but also, the Bedouins claim, children.

There is no dispute over Sharon's brilliance as a general. There is dispute over the cost of his brilliance in terms of his own men's lives. Perlmutter cites a 1956 battle as an example of Sharon's superb generalship. But some may also recall Sharon's dramatic and historic crossing of the Suez Canal in the 1973 war. Other Israeli generals have argued that Sharon could have waited a few days, made the same crossing and lost fewer men; privately, they attribute his haste to glory-seeking.

Throughout his article, Perlmutter invokes the ghost of Moshe Dayan, Israel's much admired and much detested enigma. Describing Sharon as "tough, pragmatic, unashamed"—qualities often attributed to Dayan—Perlmutter apparently intends that we see him as Dayan's heir-apparent. I had hoped the one-eyed general would find peace in his grave; I fear, now, he must be turning in it.

Dayan showed none of the brutishness that has marred Sharon's career. Dayan believed in reducing any situation to its essence in order to define the goals that could be achieved. And since circumstances changed, so did his aims and policies. Whether one agreed with Dayan or not, there was at least the assurance of an independent mind searching for whatever partial solutions were attainable—and thus constantly redefining the questions. There was a purpose to his pragmatism beyond the expedience of power. But Sharon's pragmatism seems to be merely a crude reliance on force to accomplish whatever is politically or militarily necessary. Because of his reputation for harshness, his name now inspires fear. Explaining to Perlmutter how he would force recalcitrant Israeli settlers to leave the northern Sinai before it is returned to Egypt in April 1982, he said: "We'll just tell them Sharon is coming."

It is said that you can tell a lot about a person by his attitude toward his enemies. Dayan respected Arab culture and his Arab opponents, in war and across the negotiating table; the more courageous and articulate his foes, the more honor there was for him in besting them. A romantic notion, perhaps, but an admirable one compared with Sharon's "simple axiom" as quoted by Perlmutter: "If you are with me, I'm your friend. If you're against me, I shall destroy you."

Is Sharon really the hard new face of Israel, as Perlmutter claims? If so, was his rise inevitable—and indeed overdue—in a country that has lived under seige for so long? Can such a society change? Should it? Perlmutter avoids these disturbing questions, and so his article merely reinforces Sharon's claims to power.

Perhaps the clue to Perlmutter's omissions, implications and lack of analysis can be found at the end of his story, where the mythification of Sharon induces him to wax

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lyrical. Sharon, he says, is what Israel is becoming. You see in his face "stamina, defiance and ruthlessness, the desert and the wind, blood and fire, remote battlefields clouded in smoke."

One senses that we have here another example of the fascination the man of action holds for the man of intellect. We saw a similar emotion at work in the apotheosizing of Jack Abbott by many intellectuals, who told themselves: "My God, this man has killed! He knows what life and death really mean! He knows the full romance of life!"

Most people who have killed in time of war do not boast of it. They live with it as best they can. But some use the experience to manipulate those who do not share it—who perhaps feel inferior because they do not know first-hand the horrifyingly thin line between life and death. Perlmutter serves Sharon's aims beautifully. Through the good offices of *The New York Times*, he has cleaned up Sharon's image for a sizable audience of influential Americans. He has renamed qualities. Brutality segues into pragmatism, force into toughness. The boastful man becomes the unashamed man. And a new and dangerous myth is in the making. □

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REFLECTIONS ON SADAT

A Losing Gamble

MICHAEL MANLEY

The assassination of Anwar el-Sadat prompts several observations.

First, one feels a strong sense of outrage at yet another assault upon a head of state. Whatever one's view of the politics of a John Kennedy, a Ronald Reagan or a Sadat, the violence against them should be condemned.

Sadat was remarkable because he engineered perhaps the most dramatic turnabout in policies of any political leader in this century. After participating in the overthrow of the corrupt King Farouk in 1952, Sadat served as vice president under Gamal Abdel Nasser, who became a leading exponent of Arab nationalism abroad and the architect of the socialist reconstruction of Egypt. Sadat played a behind-the-scenes role in the birth of the nonaligned movement, in which Nasser was a dominant figure, along with India's Jawaharlal Nehru, Yugoslavia's Marshal Tito, Indonesia's Sukarno and later Ghana's Kwame Nkrumah. Under Nasser, Egyptian foreign policy had four guiding principles: the defeat of Israel, nonalignment, anti-imperialism and Arab socialism.

Then three events occurred that laid the basis for Sadat's future absolutism: the crushing defeat of the Egyptian Army by the Israelis in 1967, Nasser's sudden death three years later and the elevation of Sadat to the presidency. Then came the 1973 war between Egypt and Israel, when the Egyptian Army's honor was restored by the serious military reverses they inflicted on the Israelis. Although they were unable to achieve victory, the Egyptians avoided the humiliating defeats of the past.

The Yom Kippur war consolidated Sadat's position, and he went into action. He expelled 20,000 Soviet military advisers, scuttled socialism, put Egypt on a capitalist path of development, abandoned anti-imperialism, became an ally of the United States and made his historic peace overture to Menachem Begin of Israel. The turnabout was complete and consistent. But it sowed the seeds of the Egyptian President's future troubles.

If Sadat had been able to win an honorable peace with Israel, he would have been a hero both to his people and to the world. But such a peace had to meet three conditions: the recognition of Israel's right to exist, the return of all the territories that Israel had conquered in the 1967 war and the formation of an independent Palestinian state. It was that simple—and that difficult.

If Sadat had been able to persuade Begin to return the conquered territories and to allow the establishment of a Palestinian state, he might have been able to persuade other Arab nations to recognize Israel. But the Israelis were not about to make concessions. Whether Israeli intransigence

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was due to insecurity or willfulness or both is beside the point; it had a devastating effect on Sadat's standing in the Arab world. Increasingly isolated abroad, he became the target of mounting opposition at home. Why had he persisted in negotiating with Begin even though he gained so little? The answer is that he had no choice. He had allowed himself to be drawn into the U.S. orbit—economically, politically and militarily—and was not free to break off negotiations when they became unproductive. His only hope of regaining the respect of his Arab neighbors was thus lost.

Sadat's economic policies were a disaster at home and cost him popular support. As inflation soared and the gap between the rich and the poor widened, his Moslem opposition stepped up its criticism. They exploited nationalistic distrust of the Camp David agreements and were abetted by Begin's West Bank settlements policy and continued aggression against Lebanon. The price of the peace upon which Sadat had gambled became impossibly high. He cracked down on Moslem and other dissidents and closed a number of mosques. It was against this backdrop of growing internal dissension that the assassins struck.

To the United States, Sadat had become a valuable ally. He offered a considerable military potential, and he made friends with Israel. It is impossible to overestimate the importance of this friendship, since Washington's support of Israel had provoked Arab nations to resort to the oil weapon, thus interrupting the stable flow of oil and undermining a primary goal of U.S. Middle Eastern policies. Yet for moral, political and strategic reasons, the United States could not abandon Israel. To draw Egypt into an alliance with Israel represented a master stroke for U.S. policy, whether it came about by chance or design. It is far too early to say what Egypt will do now and whether it will continue to play the regional role that the United States would like it to play. But the political unrest in Egypt that led to Sadat's death will not disappear.

To the West, Sadat was already becoming a legendary figure: the peacemaker, the brave architect of new initiatives. But to the Arab world, he was a compromiser and ultimately a traitor. A breakthrough in the Camp David talks might have given Sadat his last and greatest turnaround, even winning him the gratitude of the Arabs, though it would have come grudgingly. That was not to be, however, and it is unlikely that his successor will do any better.

The overwhelming majority of the nations in the nonaligned movement viewed Sadat as the Arabs did, though for different reasons. The movement is strongly anti-imperialist and committed to the principle of self-determination. Sadat made Egypt economically dependent on U.S.-based multinational corporations, and he openly served U.S. geopolitical interests. At the same time, his willingness to make agreements with Begin without providing for an independent Palestinian state violated one of the movement's cardinal principles. It is not surprising, therefore, that Sadat's reputation was at a low ebb in the nonaligned movement at a time when those who see world events solely in terms of U.S. interests regarded him as a great statesman. □

BALUCH INDEPENDENCE

The 'X' in the Middle East Equation

SELIG S. HARRISON

Visiting Pakistan on a trouble-shooting mission for President John F. Kennedy in 1962, Henry Kissinger, then a Harvard professor, was asked by a local journalist to comment on the growing insurgency in the province of Baluchistan. "I wouldn't recognize the Baluchistan problem," Kissinger replied, "if it hit me in the face."

Until recently, Baluchistan has been all but unknown to the rest of the world—an exotic place that was of interest primarily to ethnographers and venturesome explorers. Since the Soviet occupation of neighboring Afghanistan, however, it has been discovered by Western policy makers. Citing the historic Russian desire for warm-water ports, American officials now regard Baluchistan as a likely target of Soviet expansionism. President Jimmy Carter's national security adviser, Zbigniew Brzezinski, underlined the applicability of the "Carter doctrine" to Baluchistan as part of a broader U.S. commitment to Pakistan and the Persian Gulf. Similarly, the Reagan Administration has based its policy of stepped-up military aid to the Zia ul-Haq regime in Islamabad primarily on the premise that Baluchistan's security is crucial to the security of the adjacent Persian Gulf. The Administration has agreed, subject to Congressional approval, to give Pakistan $3.2 billion in military and economic aid, including NATO-model F-16 fighter bombers and other sophisticated U.S. weaponry.

A glance at the map quickly explains why strategically located Baluchistan and the 5 million Baluch people who live there could easily become the focal point of superpower conflict. Stretching across a vast expanse of western Pakistan and eastern Iran—an area slightly larger than France—the traditional homeland of the Baluch commands more than 900 miles of the Arabian Sea coastline, including the northern shores of the Strait of Hormuz. The scenario commonly offered by those who foresee Soviet expansionism has Russian troops and tanks sweeping across Baluchistan to the Persian Gulf, a distance of less than 350 miles. The conquered Baluch territory would then be annexed into a Soviet-controlled Greater Afghanistan. But this worst-case scenario completely overlooks the Baluch themselves.

It ignores the existence of a significant Baluch nationalist movement and thus the danger that Moscow might pursue

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its objectives through a combination of political and military means, using Baluch groups as proxies. While they do not rule out the possibility of a Soviet military thrust, Pakistani and Iranian leaders are more concerned that Moscow might provide arms and money to Baluch nationalists and help them achieve their goal of an autonomous or independent Baluchistan through guerrilla warfare.

Whether or not Moscow decides to play its "Baluchistan card," the Baluch nationalist movement now has a momentum of its own. The movement started in 1928, the year that Riza Shah Pahlevi of Iran forcibly annexed the western corner of Baluchistan. In 1947, the major portion of the land was incorporated into the new state of Pakistan. The Baluch have been fighting Iranian and Pakistani domination ever since.

Brutal repression by Shah Mohammed Riza Pahlevi kept the Iranian Baluch under control after World War II, with the exception of a brief Iraqi-supported insurgency. But the 1979 revolution in Iran weakened the central government and opened the way for a resurgence of Baluch nationalism.

In Pakistan, Baluch insurgents have waged an on-again, off-again guerrilla struggle since the country was created. In the mid-1970s this struggle culminated in a bloody confrontation between more than 80,000 Pakistani troops and some 55,000 Baluch. In late 1974, at the height of the fighting, Iranian combat helicopters supplied by the United States, some of them manned by Iranian pilots, joined the Pakistan Air Force in raids on Baluch camps. The Baluch were armed only with outdated bolt-action rifles and homemade grenades.

When they mounted their poorly planned 1973 insurgency, the Baluch were fighting for regional autonomy, not independence. They sought a radically revised constitution, which would have transformed Pakistan into a loose confederation of semiautonomous states. By the time the shooting had subsided in 1977, however, most Baluch had become confirmed separatists. The wanton use of modern weapons and superior firepower by the Pakistani and Iranian forces, especially the indiscriminate air attacks on Baluch villages, left an enduring legacy of hatred. During recent visits to Baluchistan, I found an unprecedented unity, a widespread desire to vindicate martial honor and a readiness to revive the struggle.

While there is still a chance to avert renewed conflict through negotiations between the Baluch and the governments of Pakistan and Iran, the rift between them is growing. In Pakistan, the Punjabis, who make up 58 percent of the population, find it unthinkable that the Baluch, who make up less than 4 percent, should claim Baluchistan, 42 percent of the land area of the country. By the same token, in Iran, where the Baluch constitute at most 2 percent of the population, the ruling Persians, who constitute 52 percent, angrily reject the idea of provincial boundaries drawn up to reflect ethnic homelands.

The Baluch independence movement has a strong base among the educated residents of the towns and cities as well as among nomadic tribesmen. It has three non-Communist leaders who enjoy wide support among the Baluch in both Pakistan and Iran: Ataullah Mengal, former Chief Minister of Pakistani Baluchistan; Ghaus Bux Bazenjo, former Governor of Pakistani Baluchistan, and Khair Bux Marri, the banned leader of the major Baluch political party in Pakistan. Although there are some Communist-oriented Baluch leaders, they are overshadowed by Mengal, Bazenjo and Marri—outspoken, freewheeling personalities who must be something of an enigma to the Russians. They brand the United States and the Soviet Union alike as imperialist, but they regard the Soviet Union as more sympathetic to Baluch independence and see the Russians as potential liberators. (Marri, who has been living in exile in London for the past year, said this month that he plans to shift his headquarters to Kabul, Afghanistan. Some 5,000 of his followers, organized in a guerrilla movement known as the Baluch Peoples Liberation Front, were given sanctuary in Afghanistan during the 1973-77 insurgency. The front has so far remained aloof from the Russian-installed Babrak Karmal regime in Afghanistan, but Marri's shift to Kabul has stirred speculation that he may be preparing to seek Soviet support.) Marri's followers condemn the United States for its military assistance, past and present, of the Punjabi- and Persian-dominated governments in Islamabad and Teheran and for its "reactionary" policies in the Third World. But they welcome support from the United States and other non-Communist nations, while making it clear that they expect the U.S.S.R. to be their most likely source of military aid.

Early this year, the Soviet Union intensified its efforts to build up the Baluch Communists but stopped short of openly supporting the independence of Baluchistan. There are several reasons for this hesitancy. Soviet strategists apparently believe that the Zia dictatorship in Pakistan and the Islamic fundamentalist government in Iran may give way to regimes they would find more compliant. Moreover, while there is growing political instability in both countries, Soviet strategists do not think either is yet ripe for plucking. In particular, they question whether Communist support is sufficiently strong in the other ethnic minority regions of Pakistan and Iran to insure backing for a Baluch insurgency in these regions.

Some observers maintain that what keeps the Soviet Union out of Baluchistan is the likelihood that it will be bogged down in Afghanistan for some time to come. But

NEXT WEEK

FALL BOOKS ISSUE

A Reader's Guide to the Good, the Bad and the Passable

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Moscow might seek to relieve pressure on the Afghan front by supporting an insurgency in Baluchistan. And even though its hopes of winning greater influence in Islamabad and Teheran deter it from helping the Baluch, Moscow might decide to retaliate if the Pakistanis and the Iranians persist in providing sanctuary and assistance to the Afghan resistance forces. The Soviet Union is already seeking to use the threat of intervention in Baluchistan in an attempt to dissuade Islamabad from allowing Pakistan to serve as a conduit for Western military aid to the Afghan rebels and from strengthening its ties with Washington and Peking.

Given all the variables affecting Moscow's calculations, it would be premature to assume that Soviet intervention in Baluchistan is inevitable. American policy makers should recognize that Soviet policy is likely to be influenced by the nature of the evolving American role in Pakistan and Iran. The best way to avert a superpower confrontation over Baluchistan is restraint on both sides; by the same token, there is a growing danger that pre-emptive moves by one side or the other could set off a chain reaction of military conflict.

The need for restraint on the part of the United States is underlined by the current debate over U.S. aid to the Afghan resistance movement. It would be dangerously myopic for American strategists to view the Afghan struggle in isolation, ignoring the possibility that Moscow might make good on its threat to retaliate in Baluchistan. The United States should also take into account the Zia government's unpopularity in Baluchistan and the difficulties that would be involved in helping it defend this area in the face of pervasive local opposition.

Furthermore, the vulnerability of Baluchistan underscores the desirability of finding a solution to the Afghan crisis that would bring about a Soviet withdrawal. The goal of American policy in Afghanistan should not be merely to raise the costs of the Soviet presence; nor should it be, as senior deputy chairman Deng Xiaoping of China has urged, to "tie them down" until the inevitable third world war. Rather, the United States should exhaustively and persistently explore the possibilities for a diplomatic-cum-political settlement. The search for such a settlement need not preclude limited external military assistance to keep the Afghan resistance alive and to bolster its bargaining power. But the Baluchistan question makes military aid to the resistance a risky proposition and points up the need for an Afghanistan policy focused on diplomacy rather than military confrontation.

The Baluchistan problem is also relevant in formulating U.S. military and economic assistance policies in Pakistan. For example, if the United States were to use Pakistani territory for anti-Soviet intelligence monitoring in return for military aid, as it did from 1958 to 1966, there would be a significant danger of Soviet retaliation in Baluchistan. Similarly, an agreement providing for American military access to Pakistani ports and airfields would be viewed by Moscow as provocative and could lead to Soviet pressures along the Pakistani border.

Washington should not minimize the risks and the costs of helping Islamabad suppress a renewed Baluch insurgency, even in the unlikely event that no Soviet or other foreign backing was involved. The United States might be tempted to rush assistance to Islamabad in order to put down the Baluch before the Russians could intervene. But the lesson of the 1973-77 rebellion is that hopes of a quick, conclusive victory over the Baluch are illusory. Protracted hostilities would mean a growing likelihood of direct or indirect Soviet involvement. Moreover, counterinsurgency programs, which frequently include air attacks on civilians and other indiscriminate uses of military force, often intensify popular support for guerrilla movements. American military assistance could further polarize political forces in Baluchistan and could thus help create a favorable environment for Soviet intervention.

Large-scale American military aid would legitimize Islamabad's tendency to view the problem of Baluchistan in military terms. Yet the differences between the Baluch and Zia's government are basically political, and could best be resolved by constitutional reforms and a devolution of power and resources to the provinces. In the absence of a political settlement, foreign weaponry supplied to Islamabad for counterinsurgency activity could well be used against dissident minorities who are fighting for greater justice within Pakistan, rather than against Soviet subversion. Sooner or later, then, the United States must recognize the Baluchistan question—or surely it will hit us in the face. □

Writers and Readers

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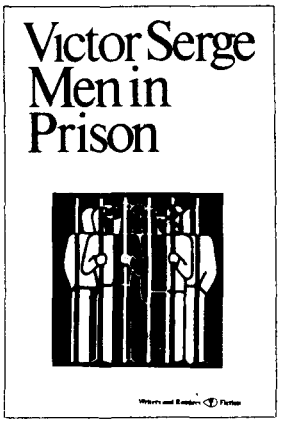

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LETTERS.

(*Continued From Page 490*)

civilian president in Ecuador is a wonder, I share the opinion of the impoverished majority that there has to be something more to "redemocratization."

As to the economic mess in Venezuela, I invite Werrett to talk to Venezuelan or foreign businessmen on the subject. Their views are more pessimistic than mine. I also suggest that she talk to Mexican labor leaders about how the López Portillo administration has dealt with unemployment. She may be surprised at their scathing opinions.

Therein lies the real difference between Werrett and myself. I talk to businessmen, government officials and diplomats, but I also talk to factory workers, peasants, students, priests and nuns, and their view of their governments' "innovative programs and sophisticated management" is not nearly so sanguine. "Development" for the vast majority has meant more poverty and repression. Werrett should not take my word for it; she should consult the statistics of the U.N. Economic Council for Latin America, the World Bank, Amnesty International or the International Commission of Jurists, among others. The "solid management" of governments in Latin America has achieved large foreign debts, high inflation rates, huge income gaps and terrible records of corruption.

That is not to say that I do not have faith in and respect for the majority of Latin Americans. But the majority has no say in the running of governments or economic policies, even in those countries that have "taken on the redemocratization challenge."

For the record, Puerto Rico was annexed by the United States in 1898; the three French Caribbean *départements* by France in the seventeenth century. The Puerto Ricans had no say in the matter, which was decided by Spain and the United States. Most of the settlers in the French islands were black slaves, and their opinions did not count. Historically, these people can hardly be said to have chosen a colonial relationship "to improve their lives." (Several dozen Puerto Rican and French Caribbean separatists have been jailed precisely because they "had the guts" to protest their countries' colonial status.) Félix López cites no surveys or studies to prove that the people of Puerto Rico and the French *départements* are grateful for being colonized.

Investigations by University of Puerto Rico economists document that the island's association with the United States has indeed led to economic exploitation. Puerto Rican workers in U.S.-owned industries earn less than half the mainland rate, and most of the country's industry, agriculture and banking is controlled by U.S. interests. While Puerto Ricans are expected to fulfill the duties of U.S. citizenship, such as serving in the armed forces, the Federal contribution to the island's budget is insignificant compared with what is allocated to the states. Moreover, Puerto Rico's wealth pales by comparison with even the poorest state in the United States—Mississippi—where per capita income is more than twice as high.

Reports by the regional publication *Caribbean Contact* have reached similar conclusions about France's relationship with Martinique, Guadeloupe and Guyane. Such work, and that of many others, shows that, over a period of time, people in a colonial situation are conditioned against protests and independent action. As Oscar Lewis noted in his studies of Puerto Rico's "culture of poverty," they are made to feel that their way of doing and seeing things is intrinsically inferior.

López betrays his bias by favorably comparing the situation of these countries with that of Haiti and Cuba, claiming that colonialism is preferable to sovereignty in poverty. Most Third World leaders vehemently disagree. History, including the United States' own, has shown that no country can realize its full potential so long as the economy and the government are controlled by a foreign power.

Sources for my information on the agricultural situation in Puerto Rico include: "Second Thoughts" by Carey McWilliams, *The Nation*, Nov. 3, 1979; "The Underside of Paradise: An Island on Welfare" by Margot Hornblower, *The Guardian*, July 5, 1981, and "Puerto Rico—The End of Autonomy" by Americo Badillo-Veiga, Paul Horowitz, Ralph Rivera and Karen Judd, *NACLA Report on the Americas*, March-April 1981.

Puerto Rico is not "mostly covered by mountains." Only about 10 percent of the island is mountainous and unsuitable for farming of any sort.

As to competitive U.S. food imports, this is a complex subject involving many factors, including the historical background of the coffee, tobacco and sugar industries as well as the negative effects of the incorporation of the island's economy within U.S. tariff walls and the growth of large holdings at the expense of small farmers who produced for the local market. Although proposals have been made to expand and diversify agricultural production, such as that of Gov. Rexford Tugwell in the 1940s, nothing came of them. Without government incentives to mechanize, agriculture was officially neglected, and thus local farmers were unable to compete with mainland imports. To quote Gov. Carlos Romero Barceló: Past governments "failed to pay enough attention to agriculture. In the 1940s, when the share of industrial income became larger than agricultural income, it was almost a celebration. When the economic development administration promoted an industry, it didn't matter how much it contaminated the environment, disrupted the community or destroyed agriculture."

While it is true that prime farmland has been used for urban development, I think it an exaggeration to suggest that all the land is being used. I would also question whether this is a wise use.

Robert Van Trieste is correct in stating that there was an election, not a plebiscite, in 1980, but voters also understood the election to be a test of popular sentiment, or an informal plebiscite, on statehood. Governor Romero admitted this in a press conference after the election when he said that a referendum on statehood planned for this year would be indefinitely postponed because his statehood party had not won the governorship by a substantial majority (the P.D.P. now has a slim majority in both houses of the legislature). I did not suggest that the P.D.P. favors independence; the issue under discussion was statehood. And Romero's postponement of the statehood referendum suggests to me that antistatehood feeling has increased.

Penny Lernoux

ROUTINE ASSIGNMENT

San Francisco

In her article "Taking C.I.A. Critics to Court" [*The Nation*, Oct. 17], Eve Pell reports that the novelist Alfred Coppel asked the *San Francisco Chronicle* if he could review the novel *Spymaster* by Donald Freed, and then "savaged" the book in print. Coppel, who reviews frequently for the *Chronicle*, has never asked for a specific title to review. I routinely asked him to review the Freed novel—a fact that should be known in order to protect Coppel's integrity as a reviewer.

William Hogan, Book Editor
San Francisco Chronicle

REPLY

We appreciate William Hogan setting the record straight on whose idea it was that Coppel review Freed's book. We also point out that, contrary to Hogan's letter, Pell did not reach a conclusion in her piece as to who asked whom. She reported the varying versions of the story, including Chronicle *staffer Diane Levy's statement that she could not remember how the piece was assigned.*

—The Editors

CORRECTION

Allen Ginsberg's poem, which appeared in "The Writer's State" issue, Oct. 3, was incorrectly titled. Its correct title is "Capitol Air."

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BOOKS & THE ARTS.

Some Jews & *The* Gays

(*Continued From Front Cover*)

of *The Homosexual as Hero in Contemporary Fiction* by Stephen Adams, reviewed at much length in England and ignored here, or of a dozen other books that have been sent to me by writers who seem not to understand why an activity of more than casual interest to more than one-third of the male population of the United States warrants no serious discussion. That is to say, no serious *benign* discussion. All-out attacks on faggots are perennially fashionable in our better periodicals.

I am certain that the novel *Tricks* by Renaud Camus (recently translated for St. Martin's Press by Richard Howard, with a preface by Roland Barthes) will receive a perfunctory and hostile response out there in book-chat land. Yet in France, the book was treated as if it were actually literature, admittedly a somewhat moot activity nowadays. So I shall review *Tricks*. But first I think it worth bringing out in the open certain curious facts of our social and cultural life.

The American passion for categorizing has now managed to create two nonexistent categories—gay and straight. Either you are one or you are the other. But since everyone is a mixture of inclinations, the categories keep breaking down; and when they break down, the irrational takes over. You *have* to be one or the other. Although our mental therapists and writers for the better journals usually agree that those who prefer same-sex sex are not exactly criminals (in most of our states and under most circumstances they still are) or sinful or, officially, sick in the head, they must be, somehow, evil or inadequate or dangerous. The Roman Empire fell, didn't it? because of the fags?

Our therapists, journalists and clergy are seldom very learned. They seem not to realize that most military societies on the rise tend to encourage same-sex activities for reasons that should be obvious to anyone who has not grown up ass-backward, as most Americans have. In the centuries of Rome's great military and political success, there was no differentiation between same-sexers and other-sexers; there was also a lot of crossing back and forth of the sort that those Americans who *do* enjoy inhabiting category-gay or category-straight find hard to deal with. Of the first twelve Roman emperors, only one was exclusively heterosexual. Since these twelve men were pretty tough cookies, rigorously trained as warriors, perhaps our sexual categories and stereotypes are—can it really be?—false. It was not until the sixth century of the empire that same-sex sex was proscribed by church and state. By then, of course, the barbarians were within the gates and the glory had fled.

Today, American evangelical Christians are busy trying to impose on the population at large their superstitions about sex and the sexes and the creation of the world. Given enough turbulence in the land, these natural fascists can be counted on to assist some sort of authoritarian—but never, never totalitarian—political movement. Divines from Santa Clara to Falls Church are particularly fearful of what they describe as the gay liberation movement's attempt to gain special rights and privileges when all that the same-sexers want is to be included, which they are not by law and custom, within the framework of the Fourteenth Amendment. The divine in Santa Clara believes that same-sexers should be killed. The divine in Falls Church believes that they should be denied equal rights under the law. Meanwhile, the redneck divines have been joined by a group of New York Jewish publicists who belong to what they proudly call "the new class" (*né arrivistes*), and these lively hucksters have now managed to raise fag-baiting to a level undreamed of in Falls Church—or even in Moscow.

In a letter to a friend, George Orwell wrote, "It is impossible to mention Jews in print, either favorably or unfavorably, without getting into trouble." But there are times when trouble had better be got into before mere trouble turns into catastrophe. Jews, blacks and homosexualists are despised by the

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Christian and Communist majorities of East and West. Also, as a result of the invention of Israel, Jews can now count on the hatred of the Islamic world. Since our own Christian majority looks to be getting ready for great adventures at home and abroad, I would suggest that the three despised minorities join forces in order not to be destroyed. This seems an obvious thing to do. Unfortunately, most Jews refuse to see any similarity between their special situation and that of the same-sexers. At one level, the Jews are perfectly correct. A racial or religious or tribal identity is a kind of fact. Although sexual preference is an even more powerful fact, it is not one that creates any particular social or cultural or religious bond between those so-minded. Although Jews would doubtless be Jews if there was no anti-Semitism, same-sexers would think little or nothing at all about their preference if society ignored it. So there *is* a difference between the two estates. But there is no difference in the degree of hatred felt by the Christian majority for Christ-killers and Sodomites. In the German concentration camps, Jews wore yellow stars while homosexualists wore pink lambdas. I was present when Christopher Isherwood tried to make this point to a young Jewish movie producer. "After all," said Isherwood, "Hitler killed 600,000 homosexuals." The young man was not impressed. "But Hitler killed six *million* Jews," he said sternly. "What are you?" asked Isherwood. "In real estate?"

Like it or not, Jews and homosexualists are in the same fragile boat, and one would have to be pretty obtuse not to see the common danger. But obtuseness is the name of the game among New York's new class. Elsewhere,* I have described the shrill fag-baiting of Joseph Epstein, Norman Podhoretz, Alfred Kazin and the Hilton Kramer Hotel. *Harper's* magazine and *Commentary* usually publish these pieces, though other periodicals are not above printing the odd exposé of the latest homosexual conspiracy to turn the United States over to the Soviet Union or to structuralism or to Christian Dior. Although the new class's thoughts are never much in themselves, and they themselves are no more than spear carriers in the political and cultural life of the West, their prejudices and superstitions do register in a subliminal way, making mephitic the air of Manhattan if not of the Republic.

A case in point is that of Mrs. Norman Podhoretz, also known as Midge Decter (like Martha Ivers, *whisper* her name). In September of last year, Decter published a piece called "The Boys on the Beach" in her husband's magazine, *Commentary*. It is well worth examining in some detail because she has managed not only to come up with every known prejudice and superstition about same-sexers but also to make up some brand new ones. For sheer vim and vigor, "The Boys on the Beach" outdoes its implicit model, *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion*.

Decter notes that when the "homosexual-rights movement first burst upon the scene," she was "more than a little astonished." Like so many new-class persons, she writes a stilted sort of genteel-gentile prose not unlike—but not very like, either—*The New Yorker* house style of the 1940s and '50s. She also writes with the authority and easy confidence of someone who knows that she is very well known indeed to those few who know her.

Decter tells us that twenty years ago, she got to know a lot of pansies at a resort called Fire Island Pines, where she and a number of other new-class persons used to make it during the summers. She estimates that 40 percent of the summer people were heterosexual; the rest were not. Yet the "denizens, homosexual and heterosexual alike, were predominantly professionals and people in soft, marginal businesses—lawyers, advertising executives, psychotherapists, actors, editors, writers, publishers, gallery owners, designers, decorators, etc." Keep this in mind. Our authoress does not.

Decter goes on to tell us that she is now amazed at the recent changes in the

* "Sex Is Politics," *Playboy*, January 1979.

ST. MARTIN OF TOURS

Mary stood on a snake near the window,
Jesus hung in the dark part.
Saints cradled light in the corners—
St. Martin of Tours, torn down
before I could memorize the Stations.

I looked for them later: not
flung on the heap of dead altar
flowers behind the rectory,
relics must be burned if blessed—
or crushed, where the new church grew.

Nothing was burned. I hid
under the covers nights and
repeated each mystery of faith:
my list, to which the statues were added.

2.

Next winter the fourth grade
filed to the cellar for a movie
on hell. We all froze at the white
licks of flame; I felt sick and

sneaked out to the boiler room where
the janitor fed kids to the furnace.
I prayed I wouldn't throw up. I did.
And leaving that, ran hard

into a wrong room, and dark.
I am the Way, and the Light—
lost, where I found them, in
the gaze of their glass eyes,

reeling back for the way out.
And came face to face with Jesus,
his arms outstretched in storage.

Theresa Sweeney

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boys on the beach. Why have they become so politically militant—and so ill groomed? "What indeed has happened to the homosexual community I used to know—they who only a few short years ago [as opposed to those manly 370-day years] were characterized by nothing so much as a sweet, vain, pouting, girlish attention to the youth and beauty of their bodies?" Decter wrestles with this problem. She tells us how, in the old days, she did her very best to come to terms with her own normal dislike for these half-men—and half-women, too: "There were also homosexual women at the Pines, but they were, or seemed to be, far fewer in number. Nor, except for a marked tendency to hang out in the company of large and ferocious dogs, were they instantly recognizable as the men were." Well, if I were a dyke and a pair of Podhoretzes came waddling toward me on the beach, copies of Leviticus and Freud in hand, I'd get in touch with the nearest Alsatian dealer pronto.

Decter was disturbed by "the slender, seamless, elegant and utterly chic" clothes of the fairies. She also found it "a constant source of wonder" that when the fairies took off their clothes, "the largest number of homosexuals had hairless bodies. Chests, backs, arms, even legs were smooth and silky. . . . We were never able to determine just why there should be so definite a connection between what is nowadays called their sexual preference [previously known to right-thinking Jews as an abomination against nature] and their smooth feminine skin. Was it a matter of hormones?" Here Decter betrays her essential modesty and lack of experience. In the no doubt privileged environment of her Midwestern youth, she could not have seen very many gentile males without their clothes on. If she had, she would have discovered that gentile men tend to be less hairy than Jews except, of course, when they are not. Because the Jews killed our Lord, they are forever marked with hair on their shoulders—something that no gentile man has on *his* shoulders except for John Travolta and a handful of other Italian-Americans from the Englewood, New Jersey, area.

It is startling that Decter has not yet learned that there is no hormonal difference between men who like sex with other men and those who like sex with women. She notes, "There is also such a thing as characteristic homosexual speech . . . it is something of an accent redolent of small towns in the Midwest whence so many homosexuals seemed to have migrated to the big city." Here one detects the disdain of the self-made New Yorker for the rural or small-town American. "Midwest" is often a code word for the fly-overs, for the millions who do not really matter. But she is right in the sense that when a group chooses to live and work together, they do tend to sound and look alike. No matter how crowded and noisy a room, one can always detect the new-class person's nasal whine.

Every now and then, Decter does wonder if, perhaps, she is generalizing and whether this will "no doubt in itself seem to many of the uninitiated a bigoted formulation." Well, Midge, it does. But the spirit is upon her, and she cannot stop because "one cannot even begin to get at the truth about homosexuals without this kind of generalization. They are a group so readily distinguishable." Except, of course, when they are not. It is one thing for a group of queens, in "soft, marginal" jobs, to "cavort," as she puts it, in a summer place and be "easily distinguishable" to her cold eye just as Jewish members of the new class are equally noticeable to the cold gentile eye. But it is quite another thing for those men and women who prefer same-sex sex to other-sex sex yet do not choose to be identified—and so are not. To begin to get at the truth about homosexualists, one must realize that the majority of those millions of Americans who prefer same-sex sex to other-sex sex are obliged, sometimes willingly and happily but often not, to marry and have children and to conform to the guidelines set down by the heterosexual dictatorship.

Decter would know nothing of this because in her "soft, marginal" world, she is not meant to know. She does remark upon those fairies at the Pines who did have wives and children: "They were for the most part charming and amusing fathers, rather like favorite uncles. And their wives . . . drank." This dramatic ellipsis is most Decterian.

She ticks off Susan Sontag for omitting to mention in the course of an essay on camp "that camp is of the essence of homosexual style, invented by homosexuals, and serving the purpose of domination by ridicule." The word "domination" is a characteristic new-class touch. The powerless are always obsessed by power. Decter seems unaware that all despised minorities are quick to make rather good jokes about themselves before the hostile majority does. Certainly Jewish humor, from the Book of Job (a laff-riot) to pre-*auteur* Woody Allen, is based on this.

Decter next does the ritual attack on Edward Albee and Tennessee Williams for presenting "what could only have been homosexual relationships as the deeper truth about love in our time." This is about as true as the late Maria Callas's conviction that you could always tell a Jew because he had a hump at the back of his neck—something Callas herself had in dromedarian spades.

Decter makes much of what she assumes to be the fags' mockery of the heterosexual men at the Pines: "Homosexuality paints them [heterosexuals] with the color of sheer entrapment," while the fags' "smooth and elegant exteriors, unmussed by traffic with the detritus of modern family existence, constituted a kind of sniggering reproach to their striving and harried straight brothers." Although I have never visited the Pines, I am pretty sure that I know the "soft, marginal" types,

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both hetero and homo, that hung out there in the 1960s. One of the most noticeable characteristics of the self-ghettoized same-sexer is his perfect indifference to the world of the other-sexers. Although Decter's blood was always at the boil when contemplating these unnatural and immature half-men, they were, I would suspect, serenely unaware of her and of her new-class cronies, solemnly worshiping at the shrine of The Family.

To hear Decter tell it, fags had nothing to complain of then, and they have nothing to complain of now: "Just to name the professions and industries in which they had, and still have, a significant presence is to define the boundaries of a certain kind of privilege: theatre, music, letters, dance, design, architecture, the visual arts, fashion at every level—from head, as it were, to foot, and from inception to retail—advertising, journalism, interior decoration, antique dealing, publishing . . . the list could go on." Yes. But these are all pretty "soft, marginal" occupations. And none is "dominated" by fags. Most male same-sexers are laborers, farmers, mechanics, small businessmen, school teachers, firemen, policemen, soldiers, sailors. Most female same-sexers are wives and mothers. In other words, they are like the rest of the population. But then it is hard for the new-class person to realize that Manhattan is not the world. Or as a somewhat alarmed Philip Rahv said to me after he had taken a drive across the United States, "My God! There are so many of them!" In theory, Rahv had always known that there were a couple of hundred million gentiles out there, but to see them, in the flesh, unnerved him. I told him that I was unnerved, too, particularly when they start showering in the Blood of the Lamb.

Decter does concede that homosexualists have probably not "established much of a presence in basic industry or government service or in such classic [new-classy?] professions as doctoring and lawyering but then for anyone acquainted with them as a group the thought suggests itself that few of them have ever made much effort in these directions." Plainly, the silly billies are too busy dressing up and dancing the hully-gully to argue a case in court. Decter will be relieved to know that the percentage of same-sexers in the "classic" activities is almost as high, proportionately, as that of Jews. But a homosexualist in a key position at, let us say, the Department of Labor will be married and living under a good deal of strain because he could be fired if it is known that he likes to have sex with other men.

Decter knows that there have always been homosexual teachers, and she thinks that they should keep quiet about it. But if they keep quiet, they can be blackmailed or fired. Also, a point that would really distress her, a teacher known to be a same-sexer would be a splendid role model for those same-sexers that he—or she—is teaching. Decter would think this an unmitigated evil because men and women were created to breed; but, of course, it would be a perfect good because we have more babies than we know what to do with while we lack, notoriously, useful citizens at ease with themselves. That is what the row over the schools is all about.

Like most members of the new class, Decter accepts without question Freud's line (*Introductory Lectures on Psychoanalysis*) that "we actually describe a sexual activity as perverse if it has given up the aim of reproduction and pursues the attainment of pleasure as an aim independent of it." For Freud, perversion was any sexual activity involving "the abandonment of the reproductive function." Freud also deplored masturbation as a dangerous "primal affliction." So did Moses. But then it was Freud's curious task to try to create a rational, quasi-scientific basis for Mosaic law. The result has been not unlike the accomplishments of Freud's great contemporary, the ineffable and inexorable Mary Baker Eddy, whose First Church of Christ Scientist he was able to match with *his* First Temple of Moses Scientist.

Decter says that once faggots have "ensconced" themselves in certain professions or arts, "they themselves have engaged in a good deal of discriminatory practices against others. There are businesses and professions [which ones? She is congenitally short of data] in which it is less than easy for a straight, unless he makes the requisite gesture of propitiation to the homosexual in power, to get ahead." This, of course, was Hitler's original line about the Jews: They had taken over German medicine, teaching, law, journalism. Ruthlessly, they kept out gentiles; lecherously, they demanded sexual favors. "I simply want to reduce their number in these fields," Hitler told Prince Philip of Hesse. "I want them proportionate to their overall number in the population." This was the early solution; the final solution followed with equal logic.

In the 1950s, it was an article of faith in new-class circles that television had been taken over by the fags. Now I happen to have known most of the leading producers of that time and, of a dozen, the two who were interested in same-sex activities were both married to women who . . . did not drink. Neither man dared mix sex with business. Every now and then an actor would say that he had not got work because he had refused to put out for a faggot producer, but I doubt very much if there was ever any truth to what was to become a bright jack-o'-lantern in the McCarthy *Walpurgisnacht.*

When I was several thousand words into Decter's tirade, I suddenly realized that she does not know what homosexuality is. At some level she may have stumbled, by accident, on a truth that she would never have been able to comprehend in a rational way. Although to have sexual relations with a member of one's own sex is a common and natural activity (currently disapproved of by certain elements in this culture), there is no such thing as a homosexualist any more than there is such a thing as a heterosexualist. That is one of the reasons there has been so much difficulty with nomenclature. Despite John Boswell's attempts to give legitimacy to the word "gay," it is still a ridiculous word to use as a common identification for Frederick the Great, Franklin Pangborn and Eleanor Roosevelt. What makes some people prefer same-sex sex derives from whatever impulse or conditioning makes some people prefer other-sex sex. This is so plain that it seems impossible that our Mosaic-Pauline-Freudian society has not yet figured it out. But to ignore the absence of evidence is the basis of true faith.

Decter seems to think that yesteryear's chic and silly boys on the beach and today's socially militant fags are simply, to use her verb, "adopting" what she calls, in her tastefully appointed English, a life style. On the other hand, "whatever disciplines it might entail, heterosexuality is not something adopted but something accepted. Its woes—and they have of course nowhere been more exaggerated than in those areas of the culture con-

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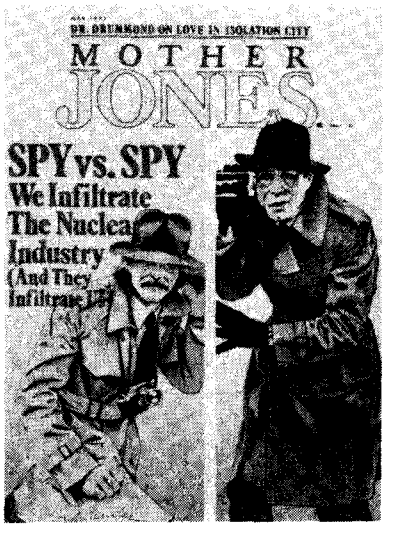

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sciously or unconsciously influenced by the propaganda of homosexuals—are experienced as the woes of life."

"Propaganda"—another key word. "Power." "Propitiation." "Domination." What *does* the new class dream of?

Decter now moves in the big artillery. Not only are fags silly and a nuisance but they are, in their unrelenting hatred of heterosexualists, given to depicting them in their plays and films and books as a bunch of klutzes, thereby causing truly good men and women to falter—even question—that warm, mature heterosexuality that is so necessary to keeping this country great while allowing new-class persons to make it materially.

Decter is in full cry. Fags are really imitation women. Decter persists in thinking that same-sexers are effeminate, swishy, girlish. It is true that a small percentage of homosexualists are indeed effeminate, just as there are effeminate heterosexualists. I don't know why this is so. No one knows why. Except Decter. She believes that this sort "of female imitation pointed neither to sympathy with nor flattery of the female principle." Yet queens of the sort she is writing about tend to get on very well with women. But Decter can only cope with two stereotypes: the boys on the beach, mincing about, and the drab political radicals of gay liberation. The millions of ordinary masculine types are unknown to her because they are not identifiable by voice or walk and, most important, because they have nothing in common with one another except the desire to have same-sex relations. Or, put the other way around, since Lyndon Johnson and Bertrand Russell were both heterosexualists, what character traits did *they* have in common? I should think none at all. So it is with the invisible millions—now becoming less invisible—of same-sexers.

But Decter knows her Freud, and reality may not intrude: "The desire to escape from the sexual reminder of birth and death, with its threat of paternity—that is, the displacement of oneself by others—was the main underlying desire that sent those Fire Island homosexuals into the arms of other men. Had it been the opposite desire—that is, the positive attraction to the manly—at least half the boutiques, etc.," would have closed. Decter should take a stroll down San Francisco's Castro Street, where members of the present generation of fags look like off-duty policemen or construction workers. They have embraced the manly. But Freud has spoken. Fags are fags because they adored their mothers and hated their poor, hard-working daddies. It is amazing the credence still given this unproven, unprovable thesis.

Curiously enough, as I was writing these lines, expressing yet again the unacceptable obvious, I ran across Ralph Blumenthal's article in *The New York Times* (August 25), which used "unpublished letters and growing research into the hidden life of Sigmund Freud" to examine "Freud's reversal of his theory attributing neurosis in adults to sexual seduction in childhood." Despite the evidence given by his patients, Freud decided that their memories of molestation were "phantasies." He then appropriated from the high culture (a real act of hubris) Oedipus the King, and made him a complex. Freud was much criticized for this theory at the time—particularly by Sandor Ferenczi. Now, as we learn more about Freud (not to mention about the sexual habits of Victorian Vienna as reported in police records), his theory is again under attack. Drs. Milton Klein and David Tribich have written a paper titled "On Freud's Blindness." They have studied his case histories and observed how he ignored evidence, how "he looked to the child and only to the child, in uncovering the causes of psychopathology." Dr. Karl Menninger wrote Dr. Klein about these findings: "Why oh why couldn't Freud believe his own ears?" Dr. Menninger then noted, "Seventy-five per cent of the girls we accept at the Villages have been molested in childhood by an adult. And that's today in Kansas! I don't think Vienna in 1900 was any less sophisticated."

In the same week as Blumenthal's report on the discrediting of the Oedipus complex, researchers at the Kinsey Institute reported (*The Observer*, August 30) that after studying 979 homosexualists ("the largest sample of homosexuals—black and white, male and female—ever questioned in an academic study") and 477 heterosexualists, they came to the conclusion that family life has nothing to do with sexual preference. Apparently, "homosexuality is deep-rooted in childhood, may be biological in origin, and simply shows in more and more important ways as a child grows older. It is not a condition which therapy can reverse." Also, "homosexual feelings begin as much as three years before any sort of homosexual act, undermining theories that homosexuality is learned through experience." There goes the teacher as seducer and perverter myth. Finally, "Psychoanalysts' theories about smothering mum and absent dad do not stand investigation. Patients may tend to believe that they are true because therapists subtly coach them in the appropriate memories of their family life."

Some years ago, gay activists came to *Harper's*, where Decter was an editor, to demonstrate against an article by Joseph Epstein, who had announced, "If I had the power to do so, I would wish homosexuality off the face of the earth." Well, that's what Hitler had the power to do in Germany, and did—or tried to do. The confrontation at *Harper's* now provides Decter with her theme. She tells us that one of the demonstrators asked, "Are you aware of how many suicides you may be responsible for in the homosexual community?" I suspect that she is leaving out the context of this somewhat left-field *cri de coeur*. After all, homosexualists have more to fear from murder than suicide. I am sure that the actual conversation had to do with the sort of mischievous effect that Epstein's Hitlerian piece might have had on those fag-baiters who read it.

But Decter slyly zeroes in on the word "suicide." She then develops a most unusual thesis. Homosexualists hate themselves to such an extent that they wish to become extinct either through inviting murder or committing suicide. She notes that in a survey of San Francisco's homosexual men, half of them "claimed to have had sex with at least five hundred people." This "bespeaks the obliteration of all experience, if not, indeed, of oneself." Plainly Decter has a Mosaic paradigm forever in mind and any variation on it is abominable. Most men—homo or hetero—given the opportunity to have sex with 500 different people would do so, gladly; but most men are not going to be given the opportunity by a society that wants them safely married so that they will be docile workers and loyal consumers. It does not suit our rulers to have the proles tom-catting around the way that our rulers do. I can assure Decter that the thirty-fifth President went to bed with

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more than 500 women and that the well-known . . . but I must not give away the secrets of the old class or the newly-middle-class new class will go into shock.

Meanwhile, according to Decter, "many homosexuals are nowadays engaged in efforts at self-obliteration . . . there is the appalling rate of suicide among them." But the rate is not appreciably higher than that for the rest of the population. In any case, most who do commit—or contemplate—suicide do so because they cannot cope in a world where they are, to say the least, second-class citizens. But Decter is now entering uncharted country. She also has a point to make: "What is undeniable is the increasing longing among the homosexuals to do away with themselves—if not in the actual physical sense then at least spiritually—a longing whose chief emblem, among others, is the leather bars."

So Epstein will not be obliged to press that button in order to get rid of the fags. They will do it themselves. Decter ought to be pleased by this but it is not in her nature to be pleased by anything the same-sexers do. If they get married and have children and swear fealty to the family gods of the new class, their wives will . . . drink. If they live openly with one another, they have fled from woman and real life. If they pursue careers in the arts, heteros will have to be on guard against vicious covert assaults on heterosexual values. If they congregate in the fashion business the way that Jews do in psychiatry, they will employ only those heterosexualists who will put out for them.

Decter is appalled by the fag "take-over" of San Francisco. She tells us about the "ever deepening resentment of the San Francisco straight community at the homosexuals' defiant displays and power ['power'!] over this city," but five paragraphs later she contradicts herself: "Having to a very great extent overcome revulsion of common opinion, are they left with some kind of unappeased hunger that only their own feelings of hatefulness can now satisfy?"

There it is. *They are hateful.* They know it. That is why they want to eliminate themselves. "One thing is certain." Decter finds a lot of certainty around. "To become homosexual is a weighty act." She still has not got the point that one does not choose to have same-sex impulses; one simply has them, as everyone has, to a greater or lesser degree, other-sex impulses. To deny giving physical expression to those desires may be pleasing to Moses and St. Paul and Freud, but these three rabbis are aberrant figures whose nomadic values are not those of the thousands of other tribes that live or have lived on the planet. Women's and gay liberation are simply small efforts to free men and women from this trio.

Decter writes, "Taking oneself out of the tides of ordinary mortal existence is not something one does from any longing to think oneself ordinary (but only following a different 'life-style')." I don't quite grasp this sentence. Let us move on to the next: "Gay Lib has been an effort to set the weight of that act at naught, to define homosexuality as nothing more than a casual option among options." Gay lib has done just the opposite. After all, people are what they are sexually not through "adoption" but because that is the way they are structured. Some people do shift about in the course of a life. Also, most of those with same-sex drives do indeed "adopt" the heterosexual life style because they don't want to go to prison or to the madhouse or become unemployable. Obviously, there *is* an option but it is a hard one that ought not to be forced on any human being. After all, homosexuality is only important when made so by irrational opponents. In this, as in so much else, the Jewish situation is precisely the same.

Decter now gives us not a final solution so much as a final conclusion: "In accepting the movement's terms [hardly anyone has, by the way], heterosexuals have only raised to a nearly intolerable height the costs of the homosexuals' flight from normality." The flight, apparently, is deliberate, a matter of perverse choice, a misunderstanding of daddy, a passion for mummy, a fear of responsibility. Decter threads her clichés like Teclas on a string: "Faced with the accelerating round of drugs, S-M and suicide, can either the movement or its heterosexual sympathizers imagine they have done anyone a kindness?"

Although the kindness of strangers is much sought after, gay liberation has not got much support from anyone. Natural allies like the Jews are often virulent in their attacks. Blacks in their ghettos, Chicanos in their barrios and rednecks in their pulpits also have been influenced by the same tribal taboos. That Jews and blacks and Chicanos and

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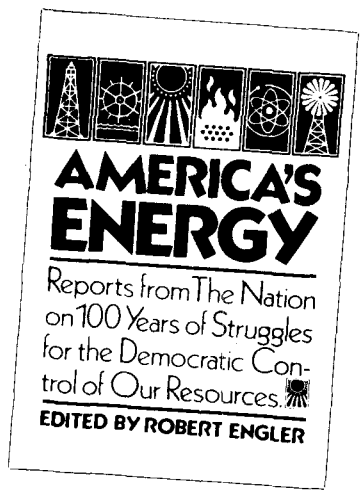
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rednecks all contribute to the ranks of the same-sexers only increases the madness. But the world of the Decters is a world of perfect illogic.

Herewith the burden of "The Boys on the Beach": since homosexualists choose to be the way they are out of idle hatefulness, it has been a mistake to allow them to come out of the closet to the extent that they have, but now that they are out (which most are not), they will have no choice but to face up to their essential hatefulness and abnormality and so be driven to kill themselves with promiscuity, drugs, S-M and suicide. Not even the authors of *The Protocols of the Elders of Zion* ever suggested that the Jews, who were so hateful to them, were also hateful to themselves. So Decter has managed to go one step further than the *Protocols*' authors; she is indeed a virtuoso of hate, and thus do pogroms begin.

Tricks is the story of an author—Rene Camus himself—who has twenty-five sexual encounters in the course of six months. Each of these encounters involves a pick-up. Extrapolating from Camus's sexual vigor at the age of 35, I would suspect that he has already passed the 500 mark and so is completely obliterated as a human being. If he is, he still writes very well indeed. He seems to be having a good time, and he shows no sign of wanting to kill himself, but then that may be a front he's keeping up. I am sure that Decter will be able to tell just how close he is to OD'ing.

From his photograph, Camus appears to have a lot of hair on his chest. I don't know about the shoulders, as they are covered, modestly, with a shirt. Perhaps he is Jewish. Roland Barthes wrote an introduction to *Tricks*. For a time, Barthes was much admired in American academe. But then, a few years ago, Barthes began to write about his same-sexual inclinations; he is now mentioned a bit less than he was in the days before he came out, as they say.

Barthes notes that Camus's book is a "text that belongs to literature." It is not pornographic. It is also not a Homosexual Novel in that there are no deep, anguished chats about homosexuality. In fact, the subject is never mentioned; it just is. Barthes remarks, "Homosexuality shocks less [well, he is—or was—French], but continues to be interesting; it is still at that stage of excitation where it provokes what might be called feats of discourse [see "The Boys on the Beach," no mean feat!]. Speaking of homosexuality permits those who aren't to show how open, liberal, and modern they are; and those who are to bear witness, to assume responsibility, to militate. Everyone gets busy, in different ways, whipping it up." You can say that again! And Barthes does. But with a nice variation. He makes the point that you are never allowed *not* to be categorized. But then, "say 'I am' and you will be socially saved." Hence the passion for the either/or.

Camus does not set out to give a panoramic view of homosexuality. He comments, in *his* preface, on the variety of homosexual expressions. Although there is no stigma attached to homosexuality in the French intellectual world where, presumably, there is no equivalent of the new class, the feeling among the lower classes is still intense, a memento of the now exhausted (in France) Roman Catholic Church's old dirty work ("I don't understand the French Catholics," said John Paul II). As a result, many "refuse to grant their tastes because they live in such circumstances, in such circles, that their desires are not only for themselves inadmissible but inconceivable, unspeakable."

It is hard to describe a book that is itself a description, and that is what *Tricks* is—a flat, matter-of-fact description of how the narrator meets the tricks, what each says to the other, where they go, how the rooms are furnished and what the men do. One of the tricks is nuts; a number are very hairy—the narrator has a Decterian passion for the furry; there is a lot of anal and banal sex as well as oral and floral sex. *Frottage* flows. Most of the encounters take place in France, but there is one in Washington, D.C., with a black man. There is a good deal of comedy, in the Raymond Roussel manner.

Tricks will give ammunition to those new-class persons and redneck divines who find promiscuity every bit as abominable as same-sex relations. But that is the way men are when they are given freedom to go about their business unmolested. One current Arab ruler boasts of having ten sexual encounters a day, usually with different women. A diplomat who knows him says that he exaggerates, but not much. Of course, he is a Moslem.

The family, as we know it, is an economic, not a biological, unit. I realize that this is startling news in this culture and at a time when the economics of both East and West require that the nuclear family be, simply, God. But our ancestors did not live as we do. They lived in packs for hundreds of millennia before "history" began, a mere 5,000 years ago. Whatever social arrangements human society may come up with in the future, it will have to be acknowledged that those children who are needed should be rather more thoughtfully brought up than they are today and that those adults who do not care to be fathers or mothers should be let off the hook. This is beginning, slowly, to dawn. Hence, the rising hysteria in the land. Hence, the concerted effort to deny the human ordinariness of same-sexualists. A recent attempt to portray such a person sympathetically on television was abandoned when the Christers rose up in arms.

Although I would never suggest that Truman Capote's bright wit and sweet

IN VIEW OF THE PROTESTANT CEMETERY IN ROME

It is idle to say
The wind will blow your fingers all away
And scatter small blue knuckle bones upon
The ground from hell to breakfast and beyond.
You will sit listening till I am gone
To seed among the pear trees. For my voice
Sprinkles a few light petals on this pond,
And you nod sagely, saying I am wise.
Your fingers toss their white cocoons and rise
Lightly and lightly brush against my face:
Alive still, in this violated place,
Idle as any deed that Cestius did,
Vanished beneath this perfect pyramid.

James Wright

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charm as a television performer would not have easily achieved for him his present stardom had he been a *hetero*sexualist, I do know that if he had not existed in his present form, another would have been run up on the old sewing machine because that sort of *persona* must be, for a whole nation, the stereotype of what a fag is. Should some macho film star like Clint Eastwood, say, decide to confess on television that he is really into same-sex sex, the cathode tube would blow a fuse. That could never be allowed. That is all wrong. That is how the Roman Empire fell.

There is not much *angst* in *Tricks*. No one commits suicide—but there is one sad story. A militant leftist friend of Camus's was a teacher in the south of France. He taught 14-year-old members of that oldest of all the classes, the exploited laborer. One of his pupils saw him in a fag bar and spread the word. The students began to torment what had been a favorite teacher. "These are little proles," he tells Camus, "and Mediterranean besides—which means they're obsessed by every possible macho myth, and by homosexuality as well. It's all they can think about." One of the boys, an Arab, followed him down the street, screaming "Faggot!" "It was as if he had finally found someone onto whom he could project his resentment, someone he could hold in contempt with complete peace of mind."

This might explain the ferocity of the new class on the subject. They know that should the bad times return, the Jews would be singled out yet again. Meanwhile, like so many Max Naumanns (Naumann was a German Jew who embraced Nazism), the new class passionately supports our ruling class—from the Chase Manhattan Bank to the Pentagon to the Op-Ed page of *The Wall Street Journal*—while holding in fierce contempt what they think our rulers hold in contempt: faggots, blacks (see Norman Podhoretz's "My Negro Problem and Ours," *Commentary*, February 1963) and the poor (see Midge Decter's "Looting and Liberal Racism," *Commentary*, September 1977). Since these neo-Naumannites are going to be in the same gas chambers as the blacks and the faggots, I would suggest a cease-fire and a common front against the common enemy, whose kindly voice is that of Ronald Reagan and whose less than kindly mind is elsewhere in the board rooms of the Republic. □

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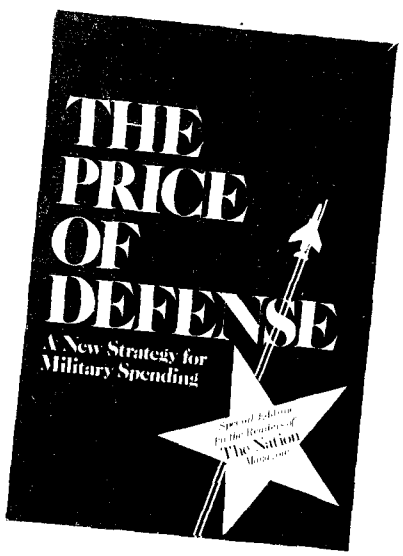

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PHILADELPHIA PROFESSIONAL LADY, attractive, svelte, tender, seeking joyful relationship with renaissance man 50 - 60. PO Box 25717, Phila., PA 19144.

EVENTS

THE 5TH ANNUAL CONFERENCE of the Mobilization for Survival will take place on Dec. 4, 5 & 6 in Milwaukee, WI. Join Holly Near, Holly Sklar, Mel King and other activists in building a movement for disarmament, an end to nuclear power and meeting human needs. Call 212-533-0008 or 414-272-0961.

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SOLUTION TO PUZZLE NO. 1889

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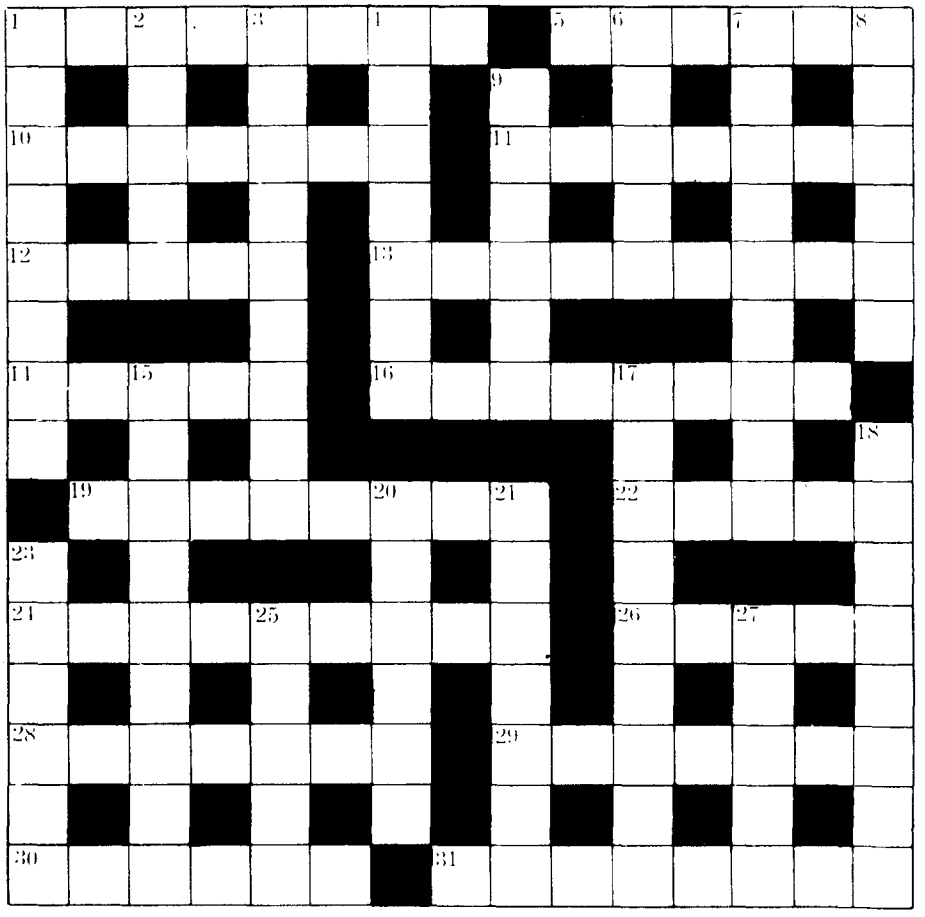
A	■	A	■	R	■	X	■	O	■	A	■	M	■	Y
G	A	S	T	R	I	C	■	B	E	L	I	E	V	E
T	■	C	■	E	■	E	■	I	■	E	■	R	■	L
A	M	O	N	G	■	P	O	L	O	N	A	I	S	E
G	■	N	■	U	■	T	■	E	■	■	■	C	■	Y
■	I	■	P	L	U	S	■	S	A	T	I	A	T	E
A	N	D	■	A	■	■	■	■	■	R	■	N	I	L
S	N	E	E	R	E	D	■	T	E	A	K	■	P	■
P	■	F	■	■	■	E	■	R	■	C	■	M	■	P
I	N	E	F	F	A	B	L	E	■	T	H	E	M	E
R	■	C	■	E	■	A	■	M	■	A	■	N	■	L
A	T	T	E	N	D	S	■	B	O	B	T	A	I	L
T	■	E	■	C	■	E	■	L	■	L	■	C	■	E
E	N	D	L	E	S	S	■	E	V	E	R	E	S	T

LOCAL ONE GRAPHICS X-523

Crossword Puzzle No. 1890

FRANK W. LEWIS



ACROSS

1 and 10 For example, the newspaper story with a positive approach. (8,7)
5 See 2 down
10 See 1 across
11 What did those Constitution drafters think they were doing, anyway? (7)
12 Doesn't drive straight from points of land, such as one of Holland. (5)
13 Contrived to do what the total composition of the night force does. (9)
14 A near explosion in the fighting-zone—at least one point in the area. (5)
16 That's what they say concentrated bombing will do to something of stature, a fragmentation thereof. (8)
19 A guy that supports could be last, I say! (8)
22 Is Ben otherwise responsible for a famous Peer? (5)
24 Commonly drunk, or covered with a mustard preparation, possibly. (9)
26 Natty, though probably a rough-dressed character. (5)
28 and 9 down A milkmaid might say, if she does, that there's no use crying over it, and pass on. (4,3,6)
29 "Brother Rat," I can't help but note, has an *uncertain meaning.* (7)
30 Scatter in piles, in a way, after the first of December. (6)
31 An organic compound when separated, otherwise a small revolver. (8)

DOWN

1 Does the chief 28-9? Then you might have one returning empty. (4-4)
2 and 5 across A sudden seizure bound to be so? One is extremely upset this way! (3,2,2,4)
3 and 6 A wild cry, as seen with the peculiar lives of the bad that must be lived with. (9,5)
4 Mother's somewhat upset by what might go into the picnic hamper. (7)
6 See 3 down
7 Starts what the upper classman sometimes does to the lower classman. (9)
8 Numbers of extremely important members. (6)
9 See 28 across
15 Where one comes in and carries people away? (9)
17 Only those who pay can expect someone to do it to them. (9)
18 The shipment might be in with what organ pipes sometimes are. (8)
20 A sin, it is conceded. (6)
21 They might be associated with 12 on certain trucks. (7)
23 Drinks might be as guns once were. (6)
25 A conscientious religious man might get it up with a 1-10. (5)
27 A symbolically significant phrase to apply to a climbing cat. (5)

SEE LAST WEEK'S SOLUTION AT LEFT

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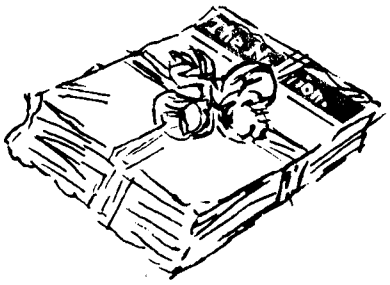

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